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ENVER HOXHA

REPORT
SUBMITTED TO THE
8th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

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**REPORT
ON THE ACTIVITY
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA**

Submitted to the 8th Congress of the Party
of Labour of Albania

November 1, 1981

KIBRISTA SOSYALIST

GERÇEK LONDRA BÜROSU

 **MAY 2011**

SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS

THE «8 NËNTORI» PUBLISHING HOUSE
TIRANA 1981

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ENVER HOXHA

Dear Comrades,

The Party and our entire people come to this Congress with great successes and notable victories. Socialist Albania has raised its economic and cultural development to a higher stage, has taken a new step forward in raising the well-being of the masses and strengthening the defence of the Homeland.

The five years which have elapsed since the 7th Congress was held are a period of heroic struggle by our working masses on all fronts to carry the socialist construction even further forward, to make our new life even richer and more prosperous. Under the leadership of the Party and with unshakeable confidence in its correct line, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth and the intelligentsia unsparingly poured out all their physical and mental energies to cope with and successfully overcome the difficulties of socialist growth, as well as those which the foreign enemies created for us.

Our Party comes boldly and proudly to the present Congress, as it did to the former congresses, because it has successfully accomplished the great

tasks it undertook, because it has fully justified the unshakeable trust the people have in it. Our people can be satisfied with their work and efforts. This has been creative and fruitful work which brought them new joy and progress, which made them more optimistic and happier.

During the 6th Five-year Plan, too, the industrialization of the country went ahead non-stop. The utilization of the value of our mineral wealth and other raw materials of the country reached a higher level. With the building of new projects, such as the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, the ferro-chrome plant, the pyro-metallurgy plant, the deep oil-processing refinery, etc. a considerable portion of these materials are now transformed and processed locally, thus creating a sound and reliable base for the development of the whole economy. This is a success of the correct line of the Party, as is the ensuring of the powerful energy base, which was further expanded with the commissioning of all the turbines of the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station.

Our agriculture has made new big strides in all directions. The orientation of the Party that it must be transformed into a socialist agriculture of modern large-scale production, relying on an ever more powerful technical base and on the latest agro-technical knowledge, has been proved in practice to be a correct and fully realizable orientation. The increase of agricultural and livestock products

from year to year, the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the population and industry for these products, fully confirm this.

Marked progress has been made in the field of culture and education. The socialist content, national physiognomy and popular spirit of our culture have been further developed and deepened. Culture and all its values are being introduced ever more deeply among the masses. A merit of our new culture is that it has withstood the various pressures and influences of bourgeois and revisionist culture, while preserving its originality and socialist features. The people's education has advanced, fully implementing the instructions of the Party to ensure the broad education of the new generation and to give the country specialists at the level which our present and future development requires.

In this grave period of crises which have engulfed the capitalist and revisionist world, where there are many political upheavals, stagnation and decline in production, falling living standards and decadence of moral values, in our country there is complete economic and political stability, our society is sound, our people are confident about the present and the future. During the past five years, a large contingent of people educated and trained by the Party and our people's state power have begun work for the first time, adding to and further strengthening the great army of working people of town and countryside. This fact becomes even more

significant if we bear in mind that in the world today, not only is work not ensured for the younger generation, but even people of the older generation are left unemployed.

Our people's state power has been further strengthened and democratized. The participation of the masses in governing the country has become more active and been raised to a higher level. Our socialist democracy has been extended further and better conditions have been created to ensure that the people enjoy the rights guaranteed them as fully as possible, and perform their duties to society better.

The internal situation has never been stronger than it is today. The compactness and unity of the people, the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, the collaboration and solidarity among the different strata of our society, have been strengthened and consolidated further. The links of the Party with the people have been steeled and their mutual confidence has been tempered further.

A brilliant expression of this great unity is that determination, that drive and heroism with which our people fight to carry out the tasks set by the Party, to overcome the various difficulties that have emerged in our road, to successfully cope with the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement.

Thanks to the correct line and special care of the Party, socialist Albania today has a reliable and

impregnable defence. Our people and the army always maintain high vigilance and stand fearless and ready to defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the victories of socialism.

Our country is honoured and respected by the progressive and peace-loving peoples and states everywhere in the world. Its international position is strong. Its friends and well-wishers are increasing and multiplying day by day. Its resolute and principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism has enhanced the sympathy and love of the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, and honest, democratic-minded people for the Party of Labour and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Our Party and people successfully withstood the grave test to which they were put by the sudden and brutal breaking off of economic relations with our country on the part of China. The Chinese revisionists thought that through their hostile activity they would disorganize our economy and stop its development for a long time, that they would force Albania to make political and ideological concessions, to hold out its hand to foreigners and beg for support and aid from abroad. However, they, and international reaction after them, which hoped that Albania would be forced to change course, failed completely. With great political maturity and a lofty patriotic spirit, with a fresh mobilization of their energies and unshaken confidence in the

triumph of their struggle, our people overcame the difficulties created.

Our Party comes to its 8th Congress tempered in new battles and richer in experience. It comes as a great army, educated with the proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology, with strong internal unity and closely linked with the people, with increased organizing, mobilizing and leading capabilities, ever ready to undertake new and greater tasks and to carry them out with success, as always.

The work of this Congress coincides with a glorious anniversary, the anniversary of the founding of our heroic Party of Labour. Forty years ago our people entrusted their destiny, the life and the future of the Homeland to the Albanian communists. Our Party justified their trust with its glorious work, with the triumph of the revolution and the creation of the new socialist Albania. Inspired by the trust of the people and conscious of its historic responsibility and the lofty mission it had undertaken, it guided the Albanian people with penetrating mind and sure touch from one battle to another, from one victory to another.

The magnificent achievements attained in the years of our free life under the leadership of the Party have shown that there is no force which can seriously disturb socialism in Albania and the freedom and independence of our Homeland, or dim the brilliance of our future. The consistent adherence to the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance,

the policy of the creation of a modern industry based on the country's raw materials and an agriculture which with its products guarantees the food supplies for the people, the training of sufficient technical and scientific cadres capable of working and leading in all sectors, have been proved indispensable to success in all directions. This wise and far-sighted policy of the Party has created that sound foundation on which our ceaseless economic and cultural development is based and which guarantees our socialist course.

The achievement of economic independence along with political independence, the ensuring of the country's defence by the people themselves, the education and arming of the working masses with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, are the strong and unshakeable pillars on which our socialist fortress stands, the fundamental features which characterize a truly socialist state. Taken as a whole, these achievements constitute the historical experience of socialism in Albania. The experience of Albania shows that even a small country, with a backward material-technical base, can achieve a very rapid and all-round economic and cultural development, can ensure its independence and withstand the attacks of world capitalism and imperialism when it is led by a truly Marxist-Leninist party, when it is determined to fight to the end for its ideals, and has faith in its ability to achieve them.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Al-

bania will march determined and unwavering on the brilliant road on which it has proceeded during the forty years of its existence. Linked like flesh to bone with its people, at the head of them and together with them, it will fight with devotion, sparing no sacrifice, in order to ensure new progress and victories for our people and our socialist Homeland.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Our socialist economy enters the new five-year period of its development with stability, dynamic and with great possibilities to develop and extend social production further and raise its efficiency in all directions.

The main objectives of the 6th Five-year Plan have been successfully attained in general. This has made the material-technical base of the country still stronger, has further increased the resources of raw materials and energy, has ensured better conditions for the harmonious, rapid and ceaseless development of the economy. During the past five-year plan the development of the productive forces continued at high rates, the intensification of the economy developed further and the technical-scientific revolution saw important new advances. Industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy made further progress. In 1980, as against 1975, social production rose about 25 per cent and industrial production

more than 34 per cent, at a rate 2 to 3 times higher than the growth of the population.

Through the consistent application of the economic policy of the Party, perceptible improvements were made in the structure of industrial production, and the proportion of means of production in total production increased. Industry met the needs of the population better and its role in the all-round development of the economy and the defence of the country was increased.

Compared with the 5th Five-year Plan, agricultural production rose more than 21 per cent. Agriculture met the needs of the country for bread grain, food products and the most essential raw materials, and increased the volume of export of agricultural products.

To fulfil the targets of the 6th Five-year Plan the Party and our state raised the level of utilization of the internal resources and possibilities of the country. The uninterrupted financing of the development of the economy and culture was ensured; about 300 important projects were built and commissioned and goods export rose over 51 per cent.

The growing economic power and the implementation of a number of measures of an economic and social character guaranteed the level of well-being already achieved and led to its further uplift. The real per capita income of the population increased both in town and countryside. The retail goods turnover went up about 20 per cent. The

housing conditions of the population were further improved and measures were taken to expand social services. About 20 thousand people graduated from the higher schools and more than 113 thousand from the secondary schools, or 57 per cent more than in the 5th Five-year Plan.

These achievements in the general socio-economic development of the country assume special significance if we bear in mind what is occurring in the capitalist-revisionist world, where the economic crisis, with its grave consequences for the working masses and the whole life of the countries of this world has caused stagnation and decline in production. These achievements mark a great victory for our Party and people.

On behalf of the Party and the people, from the tribune of this Congress I hail and congratulate the workers, the specialists and the cadres of construction and industry who, responding to the call of the Party, even in the difficult conditions which the Chinese revisionists created for us, proved up to the task and succeeded in building and commissioning the great projects of the 6th Five-year Plan, which further strengthened our socialist Homeland.

Despite the successes achieved, we are also aware that some targets of the five-year plan were not fulfilled in investments and construction, in agricultural production and some industrial products, and in the productivity of labour. The Party, the

state organs and the working collectives have carefully analysed these failures and have drawn lessons in order to eliminate weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of organization and management of the economy.

The great achievements of historic significance already made in all fields, as well as the rich experience gained in the work and struggle of the Party and people for the construction and defence of socialism, constitute a powerful political, economic and social basis from which to advance confidently and boldly.

On the basis of the general line and the economic policy of the Party for the construction of socialism, the Central Committee, after all-sided work and study and a broad popular consultation, prepared the draft-directives for the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture for the period 1981-1985, which it presents to the Congress for examination and endorsement. The fundamental task of this five-year plan is: «**The general development of the economy, relying completely on our own forces, on the basis of deepening the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, raising the efficiency of the economy, the development of the technical scientific revolution and perfecting the socialist relations of production, in order to guarantee and gradually raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses of the working**

people and to further strengthen the socialist order and the defence capacity of the Homeland.»

The main directions and objectives of the development of the economy and culture during the 7th Five-year Plan, which is distinguished by a number of special characteristics, are synthesized in this task.

This is the first five-year plan which will be carried out relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities. Today Albania is the only country in the world which is developing and advancing on the socialist road without any kind of aid or credit from abroad. This is a great but glorious test for our people and Party, and the victory is certain, because, by proceeding on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we prepared ourselves long ago for this decisive step.

The objectives and tasks of the new five-year plan are greater than in any other plan, but they are scientifically based and fully achievable. For the five years 1981-1985, the volume of social production and investments will be larger than the volume realized over the first four five-year plans taken together, while the volume of exports will be even larger. In 1985, as against 1980, social production is envisaged to increase 34-36 per cent, at an average annual rate of 6.4 per cent. The funds for investment and construction will be used to build about 750 important projects for the development of the economy and culture.

With the possibilities created by the increased production and national income, in 1985, as against 1980, the fund for consumption by the people is expected to increase by 21 per cent and the circulation of retail goods by 22-24 per cent. Important tasks are envisaged for the development of education and culture, the health service, housing and other public services.

In setting these targets and rates, account has been taken both of the possibilities the economy has and will provide and of the needs for the development of the economy and the employment of the new active forces, for the strengthening of the defence of the country and the increase of reserves, and for the development of the social and cultural sectors, as well as for ever better fulfilling the growing demands of the population. Many of the targets of this five-year plan, especially those which have to do with the utilization of reserves of oil and minerals, the allocation of investments, etc. have also been seen to in close connection with the development of the economy in the future five-year plans, when we will be faced with even greater needs and demands.

During the 7th Five-year Plan some important structural improvements will be made in the field of production, the circulation of goods and consumption by the people. These improvements will involve energy resources, black metallurgy, the engineering industry, agriculture, transport, finances and

mass consumer goods, etc. The improvements envisaged will lead to intensification of the economy, raise its efficiency and make it more capable of meeting the needs of the country and of coping better with the encirclement and blockade and the pressure of the economic crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world.

The development and strengthening of the material-technical base of the country, as always, will be closely linked with the improvement of various aspects of the economic relations in the city and, especially, in the countryside. Important measures have been and are being taken for the further development of the cooperativist system and the restriction of the personal plot, for the extension of specialization and cooperation, the strengthening of the organization and management of production, for a better linking of the remuneration for work with quantity and quality, savings and the fulfilment of targets of the plan. These measures will be carried still further with the aim of ceaselessly strengthening our socialist order.

The tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan will be dealt with in more detail in the Report of the Central Committee on the Draft-directives of the Development of the Economy and Culture for the Period 1981-1985, which will be delivered by Comrade Mehmet Shehu. Therefore, in this report we shall present only certain fundamental problems of the policy of the Party, which have to do with the

present and future economic and social development of the country.

1. The Further Strengthening of Industry — a Decisive Factor for the General Advance of the Country

The socialist industrialization of the country, which has developed from one five-year plan to the other as a great and ceaseless process, has occupied and continues to occupy the main place in the economic policy of the Party. It has been and is a decisive factor for the general advance of the country on the road of socialism. The creation and strengthening of our multi-branched, heavy and light industry, based firmly on our own resources and assets and with clear prospects of development, is a monumental deed of our Party and people, achieved with great toil, sacrifice and unrivalled heroism, a deed of historic importance for the present and future generations.

In the 7th Five-year Plan our industry will advance still further and develop on a broad front. About 46 per cent of all the investments of the five-year plan will be made in this branch. The aim of the policy of the Party for the development of industry is: to consolidate the multi-branched structure of industry, giving priority, as always, to heavy industry; to maintain and further improve the pos-

itive balance of energy resources, attaching particular importance to the oil industry; to further develop the mineral extracting and processing industry, while also starting to utilize new minerals; to make tangible improvements in the structure of means of production and consumer goods; to put industry even more in the service of the intensification of agriculture; to expand the existing productive capacities through their reconstruction and modernization.

By proceeding resolutely on this course, industrial production will continue to increase at high rates. In 1985, as against 1980, it will increase 36-38 per cent. This material development, closely linked with a number of other economic and social factors, will enable our country to forge ahead as a country with advanced industry and agriculture.

The Party devotes special attention to the energy industry, to the extraction of oil, gas, coal and the production of electric power. We have created a powerful and independent energy system which meets the growing needs of the country for energy and earns important incomes in hard currency from its exports. This is a major victory for the correct policy of the Party and a reliable basis for the development of the national economy as a whole.

This victory must be consolidated and carried further, in the first place, by making investments and increasing production, but also by using all our energy resources with the greatest economy; strict

control and thrift. The solution of these problems calls for well-organized, disciplined and systematic work with sound scientific bases and methods. The development of this crucial branch of major strategic importance is put forward as an imperative duty, especially in the conditions of the world energy crisis.

The extraction and processing of oil and gas will occupy the main place in our energy resources. In 1985, as against 1980, oil extraction will increase 58-60 per cent. This is a great but fully realizable task, because it is based on the existing resources and the known and tapped reserves.

The achievement of the targets for the extraction of oil and gas and the increase of the effectiveness of the major expenditure made in this branch of industry require that the oil workers, specialists and cadres give special attention to improving prospecting and extraction methods, basing themselves completely on the achievements of science, on the application of rigorous technical and working discipline.

The expenditure on the extraction of oil and gas must be made on the basis of profound studies and with responsibility. Thorough-going technical, organizational and material measures must be taken to increase oil extraction, not only from the new deposits, but also from the older ones, using intensification and secondary methods much better than up till now. In this vital sector we must proceed

with economy, with reserves assured and proved, and utilize oil and gas frugally, thinking of today and also of the future. The scientific and technical forces must involve themselves more deeply in speeding up the exploitation of bituminous sands with a high level of efficiency, because these are a great asset of the country, which must be brought into economic circulation as soon as possible.

Coal, which is a fuel used on a mass scale and of great economic benefit, occupies an important place in the energy resources of the country. In 1985 coal extraction will be 48 per cent greater than in 1980. This is a major task, the fulfilment of which calls for persistent work by the workers of this sector.

Attention should be centered not only on the rational exploitation of the existing coal mines, but also on the opening of profitable new mines. Prospecting for coals of higher calorific value and coking coals must be extended. Work must be done everywhere to replace liquid fuels with coal and for its frugal use. Likewise, it is also necessary to take measures for the enrichment and briquetting of coals, to increase the economic benefits from their use.

Compared with 1980, in 1985 the production of electric power will increase 16 per cent. In order to keep ahead of the growing needs for electric power, as well as for the intensive exploitation of the hydro resources in which our country is very

rich, during this five-year plan the work for the completion of the Koman hydro-power station, which will be the most powerful we have built up to now, will be stepped up to major proportions and preparations will be made for the construction of other hydro-power stations, big and small, not only to cope with present and future needs, but also to increase the export of electric power.

The production and use of electric power must be seen in unity. The Party and the state and economic organs must work to change people's concepts, so that electric power is appreciated as a major national asset which must be used thriftily and with rigorous control in all fields, especially in that of material production, where scientifically studied norms must be established for every kilowatt consumed.

The 7th Five-year Plan opens broad perspectives for the extracting and processing industry of useful minerals. The extraction of the known minerals, chromium, copper and iron-nickel, will continue with large increases, ranging from 30 per cent up to over 200 per cent. Conditions have now been created for the extraction of other useful minerals also, such as phosphorite, quartzite, rock salt, dolomite, olivinite, bauxite, etc.

Current and future needs pose the task of expanding the extraction and enrichment of low-grade minerals and increasing the proportion of useful elements recovered from them in order to

raise the value of our mineral resources, to exploit even those deposits, old or new, which are of poor quality, but of which there are large reserves.

The geologists and all others working in mineral prospecting are faced with the task of raising the effectiveness of drilling and increasing the reserves of those minerals, especially in the existing mines, of discovering new minerals and mineral deposits in unexplored massifs with good prospects, on the basis of generalizations and scientific laws, by boldly using new complex methods and by improving the organization of their work.

The mining workers and specialists must give particular importance to improving the technique and technology of extraction, raising the level of mechanization and their qualification for the jobs, in order to achieve a pronounced improvement in the quality of production, to lower costs and reduce the impoverishment and losses of minerals.

Special attention will be paid to metallurgy, in general, and iron and steel production, in particular, not only to deepen the full cycle processing of our main minerals, but also to strengthen the independence of our economy from imports. Therefore, our metallurgical workers must mobilize all their strength and skills so that they learn and master thoroughly, with strict discipline and on a scientific basis, the technology of smelting minerals and the many ways of processing metals, in order to utilize all the useful main and associated elements of the

complex ores, to reduce the costs of materials and energy, which are still high. Thorough studies and intensive work are required for the big extensions which will continue at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, for the setting up of plants to produce tubes of various kinds, steel plate and carbonic products.

Now that we have our own steel and have built **a powerful mechanical engineering industry** the conditions have been created to set this branch greater tasks. The production of the engineering industry in 1985 will be 43-45 per cent greater than in 1980.

The engineering industry successfully fulfilled the task of producing spare parts, set by the 7th Congress of the Party, meeting 95 per cent of the needs of the economy for them. In this five-year plan this achievement must be consolidated by radically improving quality and greatly increasing the reconditioning of the parts replaced.

In the years of this five-year plan the engineering industry will engage on a larger scale in the production of equipment and machinery for the construction of new production lines and factories, for various reconstructions and extensions of productive capacities. To carry out such a task demands improved organization and management of this branch of industry, and the technology of processing, planning, cooperation and the standardization of production must be put on the most scientific basis possible.

Urgent and comprehensive measures must be taken especially for the preparation of the technological and structural designs of equipment and machinery for the new projects to be built and the reconstructions to be done during this five-year plan. Much of this equipment and machinery will be produced for the first time. The designing and production of this equipment and machinery on time and with high quality is one of the most difficult tasks which our engineering industry has to cope with.

The commencement of machine building on a large scale by the engineering industry forcefully poses the need to raise the level of qualification of the people involved and develop their creative thinking, the need to train higher and middle cadres even for narrow profiles and particular specialities, making the appropriate changes in the programs of vocational schools and the University for this purpose.

The chemical industry will undergo great expansion and development during this five-year plan. Compared with 1980, in 1985 its production will go up 63-65 per cent. Particular importance will be given to increasing production of phosphate fertilizers and chemicals for plant protection. Now that many basic products and a number of industrial residues and associated components of minerals are available, the chemists and other specialists must study and produce a much wider range of

chemical products and reagents in order to reduce imports of them as soon as possible. The beginnings of chemical synthesis, based mainly on local raw materials, must also be carried forward with the aim that its products become a good source of exports in the not-too-distant future.

The Party has always borne in mind that, in the development of industry as a whole, the production of mass consumer goods must be increased in keeping with the needs of the population, ensuring the stability and continuous raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses. To this end, the production of the light and food-processing industry during this five-year plan will increase at rates higher than twice the rate of growth of the population.

A real change for the better is necessary in the products of the light and food-processing industry, and a radical improvement must be achieved in the structure, range, quality, packaging and the lowering of the cost of the goods. This change can be made only through complete and effective measures in the fields of organization and management, and the planning and technology of production. Above all, artisan concepts must be radically changed, ingenuity and creative thinking must be developed, there must be swift and efficient action to make positive changes, to open a broad way to the new everywhere.

Huge investments have been made for the estab-

lishment and development of industry, and a whole army of qualified and devoted workers, who are a powerful support for the development of this vital sector of the economy, has been trained.

The attainment of the great targets laid down by the Party requires that the workers of industry increase the efficiency of production and the productivity of labour, and raise their creative activity to a higher level. They must utilize the many productive capacities at their disposal extensively and master the use of the new projects and production lines that will be completed and commissioned, as well as those which will be reconstructed in the years of this five-year plan, as thoroughly as possible. With courage and determination and relying on the results of studies and science, they must carry forward and modernize the technology of production, improve its qualitative and financial indices.

The people and the Party are fully confident that the workers of all branches of industry, conscious of the situation we are going through, will multiply their efforts and step up their struggle to achieve the objectives and fulfil the great tasks which this Congress is setting for the development and strengthening of our socialist industry.

2. Agricultural Production Must Be Further Intensified and the Socialist Relations in the Countryside Perfected

Our Party has worked out and implemented a Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy, taking account of the historical conditions and the concrete circumstances in which our people's revolution triumphed and the country embarked on the road of socialism. In the conditions of a very backward agrarian country, the Party had to solve two problems simultaneously: both the socialist transformation of the countryside and the all-round development of agriculture. Agriculture had to be in a position to feed the rural population and to make its great contribution to the industrialization of the country and the development of the national economy. **Achievement of these fundamental tasks required not any kind of development of agriculture, but precisely its socialist development on the basis of modern, large-scale production closely linked with all the other branches and sectors of the economy.**

The revolutionary transformations and the progress achieved in agriculture represent one of the greatest victories of the line and policy of the Party for the construction of socialism. The fact that during nearly four decades of the people's state power agricultural production in general in our country has continued to increase about 2 times more rap-

idly than the population, that the real per capita income of the peasantry has gone up 10 to 20 per cent from one five-year plan to another, that now, as compared with 1960, agricultural production has increased 1.7 times per unit of arable land and 1.6 times per agricultural worker, is clear evidence of the correctness of this policy. In the 6th Five-year Plan, too, although the targets were not fully accomplished according to plan, the average annual production was 21.4 per cent higher as compared with the 5th Five-year Plan.

Consistently following its agrarian policy, the Party has set new, more important objectives for the development of agriculture and the progress of our socialist countryside during the 7th Five-year Plan. The tasks which the Central Committee of the Party has set for the sector of agriculture in the new five-year plan are aimed: to increase production in order to ensure ever better supplies of all the food for the people and improve its structure; to substantially increase the raw materials for the light and food-processing industry; to gradually eliminate imports of that part of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials which are still brought from abroad; to increase the volume of exports of processed and unprocessed agricultural products; to increase and strengthen the necessary reserves. On the basis of these objectives, as well as through other economic and social measures, the well-being of the peasantry will be raised and the distinctions

between town and countryside will be further reduced.

These major problems for the development of agriculture have to do with the present and the future of the country. For all these reasons, in this five-year plan agriculture will occupy a special and more important place than hitherto. In the 7th Five-year Plan, as against the 6th Five-year Plan, total agricultural production is envisaged to increase 30-32 per cent. About 29 per cent of the total investments of this five-year plan will be used in agriculture. About 60 per cent of the new active work forces will be directed to this branch, which will be provided with a more extensive material and technical base. Therefore, the workers of agriculture and all sectors connected with agriculture are faced with a struggle to achieve great tasks.

As always, grain production remains the primary task of agriculture. Each year we must supply the bread needed by the ever growing population; fulfil increasing requirements for concentrated and industrialized feed for livestock, as well as other essential needs for grain. These problems cannot be solved by constantly increasing the area planted to grain. On the contrary, the stress must be laid more and more on increasing yields and improving the structure of the types of grain grown. This becomes even more essential in the conditions in which the population is growing at high rates and, as a consequence, the area of arable land per capita

tends to decrease. Therefore, the increase of about 20 per cent in the production of grain in the 7th Five-year Plan, as against the 6th Five-year Plan, must be achieved entirely through increased yields. The tasks in this field are very serious and require exceptional attention from the organs of the Party, the state, the economy and all the workers of agriculture.

Apart from the increase of grain production, measures must be stepped up in all the links in the procurement, handling, storing and use of grain in order to avoid any loss or damage. We must also aim at reducing the consumption of bread per head of population, both in town and countryside. We must proceed on this course with a scientifically studied program to improve the structure of the people's food by increasing the production and use of vegetables, potatoes, fruits, livestock products, etc. The problem is that we must provide the population with more milk, meat, vegetables, etc., and reduce the consumption of bread, thus not reducing the standard of living but raising it.

Hence, parallel with the increase of the production of vegetables, potatoes and beans per head of population and the reduction of their cost, more organized work must be done to study people's demands and tastes and to transform the existing almost artisan mentality regarding the production, transport, industrialization and sale of these products. The solid tasks envisaged in this five-year

plan concerning vegetables, potatoes and beans require the implementation of all-round agro-technical measures, as well as the concentration and specialization of the production of them, especially around the big cities, with the aim that the plans must be fulfilled in quantity, in variety and on time throughout the year.

The state and the cooperatives have made major investments for the development of fruit-growing. Up till now, however, the effectiveness of these investments, especially in the cooperatives, has been low and the weight of this sector in agricultural production is still relatively small. Hence, to realize the increasing tasks for the development of fruit-growing it is necessary, first of all, that this branch should be appreciated more correctly, and that ideas underrating it and manifestations of lack of interest in this great wealth with promise for the future of our country, must be combated. In the orchards and olive groves all the necessary services must be fully carried out and the appropriate conditions provided for extensive irrigation.

The new investments must be concentrated mainly on the completion of existing blocks and the reconstruction of the existing vineyards. Studies must be carried out in the field of fruit-growing and a great deal of work done to add to and improve new varieties, the planting of orchards of various kinds around the cities must be proceeded with and, within the possibilities, the practice of

joint state-cooperative investments should be applied.

The needs of the people and the development of a multi-branched agriculture require improvement in the structure of plantings of industrial crops, concentration and specialization of production in the districts and economies which have had the best results, ensuring supplies of seeds which produce heavy crops yielding high levels of industrial products, and the application of advanced technology in production. We must adhere to the orientation for industrial crops to fulfil the needs of the people and the economy ever better with the local production.

In regard to the forest economy, along with measures to proceed more rapidly towards balancing cutting with the annual natural growth of forest trees, we must aim to transform the forests into complex economies in which, apart from extracting timber, secondary forest products, such as plants producing essential oils and medicinal herbs, are cultivated and harvested, and more is done to develop and utilize the zooculture.

The objectives put forward in the new five-year plan concerning livestock-farming require much greater attention from the organs of the Party, the state and the economy and all the workers of agriculture for this important branch. Despite the progress made, the level of production and modernization of the livestock sector does not respond to

the big investments made and the increasing needs for animal products. The Draft-directives envisage the following increases in average annual production in 1985, as against 1980: milk 30-32 per cent, meat 53-55 per cent, eggs 50-52 per cent, etc. These objectives are based on a further increase in herd and flock numbers, but more particularly, on increased productivity from all kinds of animals. Production rates 2-3 times higher than the average national yields attained hitherto must be obtained from the pedigree cows and improved breeds of other livestock. To this end it is necessary to radically change the concepts on and attitudes towards the needs and requirements arising from the development of large-scale livestock-farming with many kinds of animals and built on a scientific basis.

The number-one problem in the field of livestock-farming is the application of a complete system of appropriate measures to double and treble the yields of forage crops and the productive capacity of natural pastures, to gather and utilize all the reserves and by-products of agriculture, as well as to apply a more advanced technology in the processing of concentrated foods and other agricultural and industrial products for the livestock.

We have made and will continue to make investments and take measures to set up modern complexes for the strengthening of livestock-farming, for the production of meat and eggs, for the industrial processing and ensilaging of feed for ani-

mals. However, care must be taken to ensure that these investments are made in time and give the proper effect. On the other hand, it must be kept clearly in mind that the overwhelming part of the livestock, this great national asset, is in the agricultural cooperatives and in the herds formed from the animals belonging to the members of these cooperatives. Therefore, very great attention must be paid to the proper management of these animals, the increase of production and reduction of the cost of livestock products in all areas of the country.

The fulfilment of the targets envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan for agriculture will be achieved, more than ever before, through intensification. More than 90 per cent of the increase in total agricultural production will result from higher crop yields and greater productivity of livestock, compared with 45-70 per cent in the past five-year plans. The land and all the relatively powerful and diversified material and technical base which has been created must be utilized with the greatest possible efficiency, with the aim of getting the maximum agricultural and livestock products with the least possible expenditure — this is the task set.

While setting major tasks for stepping up the intensification of agriculture, in the future, too, persistent efforts must continue to extend the area of arable land, because our country still has land which can be opened up in the hilly and mountain-

ous areas, as well as to gain areas of land through desalinization. etc.

A major problem, which has to do with the intensification of agriculture, is a better harmonization, based on scientific criteria, of all the human, material, agro-technical and natural factors which condition agricultural production. This is a general problem which concerns every economy, district or area. The specialists, cadres and vanguard workers at the base, the economic and planning organs, as well as the scientific research institutions, have here a broad field for studies and creative innovation.

In the future, too, investments and care for the land must constitute the main direction of the work for the intensification and increase of agricultural production. This calls for the application of comprehensive measures to increase the fertility of the land and protect it against erosion, to enrich and improve the soil through a combined and integral system of fertilizers. It requires the production and use of seeds with high productive capacity, resistant to diseases, pests and unfavourable natural factors.

The many problems related to the intensification of agriculture can be successfully solved only by placing all agricultural production on rigorously scientific foundations. The 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party gave orientations and directives of very great importance to all the scientific organisms in agriculture, from the base to the centre. It is a

prime duty of the party organizations, the state and economic organs to ensure that this program is persistently applied. To this end it is essential that a correct concept should be formed of the great importance and role of scientific research and experimentation in agriculture and that all organizational measures are taken to ensure that the results of these studies find application in large-scale production as quickly as possible.

In the context of the work that will be carried out in agriculture during this five-year plan, the Central Committee of the Party proposes to the Congress that **a series of important measures for the intensification of agricultural production, giving priority to production in the more fertile plains of the country, should be applied within a ten-year period.** The first stage of this program, to be applied in the 7th Five-year Plan, covers more than 100,000 hectares of land in the area of the coastal plains. The aim of this action is to increase agricultural and livestock production in the areas in which the work and investments yield greater and more rapid results. This will also create favourable conditions for a more rapid development of the cooperatives and for the gradual transition from the property of the group to the property of the whole people. Undertaking this action will not affect the investments and material resources necessary for the development of agriculture in the other areas of the country. On the contrary, work will continue for

the further development and strengthening of all agricultural cooperatives.

Success in carrying out this great task requires careful work, well-programmed and organized, by the Ministry of Agriculture, the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and other central institutions and party and state organs in the districts which are included in the zone where the higher level of intensification of agriculture will be applied.

The level already achieved in the development of the productive forces and the new steps, which will be taken in the 7th Five-year Plan and in the future, will be accompanied and supported by the further improvement of the socialist relations in the countryside. The Central Committee of the Party has made a meticulous study of and approved the revolutionary initiatives of the peasantry for the further restriction of the cooperativist plot and the formation of joint herds from the members' personal livestock, and has taken or is taking all-round measures to give this progressive process in the countryside proper support. The Party is highly appreciative of the revolutionary spirit and ardent patriotism of the cooperativist peasantry in taking this step of special importance for the strengthening of the cooperativist system in our country.

It is fully convinced that the restriction of the personal plot and the formation of joint herds will certainly lead to increased agricultural and live-

stock production, to guaranteeing and further raising the well-being of the peasantry and the further consolidation of the spirit of socialist collectivism. Thus, on the basis of the rise in production and the general well-being of the peasantry, the plot, as a temporary auxiliary economy, is gradually losing its importance and will eventually wither away completely.

The implementation of the program for speeding up the intensification of agricultural production in the country's lowland area will also bring about important transformations in the socialist relations of production in this zone. With the big investments, which the state will make in the cooperatives of this zone, the proportion of the state-owned means of production will increase. This will lead gradually to restriction of the sphere of the relations of cooperativist property, until, at a later period, the latter turns into property of the whole people. Until this phase is reached, the cooperativists in the zone in which agriculture will be intensified at higher rates, will continue to be paid in the current forms, with norms and workdays. Meanwhile, we shall work towards gradually raising their remuneration to the level of the wages of the workers of state farms.

Parallel with this, the work will continue to consolidate the higher-type cooperatives, some of which will be transformed into state farms. This will serve as an experience for the future, too. Other

higher-type cooperatives will be set up in the low-land zones. Some cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous zones also may become higher-type cooperatives, depending on their development and the possibilities of the state.

While programming these new steps, the Party will continue to devote great attention in the future to the development and strengthening of the cooperatives in the hilly and mountainous zones. A large part of the population of the country lives in these zones which include a considerable area of the arable land. The speeding up of intensification of agriculture in the plains will provide the state with greater material and financial possibilities to make investments and give greater assistance to the hilly and mountainous zones.

Special attention and care must be given to the development and strengthening of all the state farms, combating the shortcomings and weaknesses which exist in some of them today. The task which the Party set long ago, that the state farms should be in the vanguard, must be carried out persistently.

The majestic objectives of the new five-year plan open up prospects of all-round development and progress for our agriculture and the socialist countryside. To attain these objectives requires the mobilization and persistent work of all the working people of agriculture, perfection of the planning, organization and management of agricultural produc-

tion and of all the subsequent links in the chain: the procurement organs, the light and food-processing industries, internal and foreign trade. The Ministry of Agriculture and its dependent organs and institutions, in particular, are faced with important duties in order to ensure that they are equal to the major tasks for the development of agriculture which this Congress is setting.

The successful achievement of the targets in the field of agriculture will be a major victory of the agrarian policy of the Party, which is the diametrical opposite of the policy pursued in the revisionist countries, where agriculture has landed in an impasse. As everyone knows, the Leninist road of collectivization has long been abandoned in those countries. In the Soviet Union and elsewhere, the existing form of collective capitalism is now associated, to a large degree, with direct forms of private property. The individual private economies are regarded by the revisionists as a main source for the production of meat, milk and other agricultural products, moreover, they are even being given the animals of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses to feed and raise, thus liquidating any trace of the socialist system in the countryside. This is the course that has led the agriculture of many of these countries, in which the shortage of food and agricultural raw materials has become one of the most serious problems for the life of the working masses today, into a profound crisis.

3. Investments and Construction Work — an Important Basis for the Ceaseless Strengthening of the Economy

During the last five-year plan great efforts were made to carry out the investments and fundamental constructions decided by the 7th Party Congress. The hostile activity of the Chinese revisionists did serious harm and hindered the achievement of the objectives set in this field more than in any other. However, thanks to the all-round measures taken by the Party and the state, during the 6th Five-year Plan the volume of investments made was 15 per cent greater than in the 5th Five-year Plan.

The productive potential we have built up and the growing resources of our internal accumulation enable us to undertake a program of investments and construction work of unprecedented proportions in the new five-year plan, with a total volume of more than 25 billion leks, or 22-24 per cent more than in the previous five-year plan. This is a very significant expression of the superiority and vitality of our socio-economic order, of the creative abilities and inexhaustible energies of the broad working masses and of the correctness of the principle of self-reliance.

In allocating investments, deciding their structure and the concrete projects, the future develop-

ment of the various branches of the economy and culture, the strengthening of the independence and defence of the Homeland and the need to guarantee and gradually raise the well-being of the people, have been taken into account.

As always, in the investments policy priority is given to material production. Investments in the productive sphere will account for 83 per cent of the total in the new five-year plan, as against 77 per cent in the last five-year plan. The reason for such a distribution of investments is that production is the basis of the well-being of the people and the defence power of the Homeland.

In this five-year period, too, the biggest investments will be allocated to the development of industry and agriculture, in which more than 74 per cent of the total investments will be employed, with an increase of about 37 per cent as against the last five-year plan. Important investments will be made in transport, the social-cultural sectors and housing construction. During the current five-year plan work will go on for the construction of more than 350 important projects of the productive sphere alone.

In order to accomplish the above objectives, it is necessary to take practical measures to raise the effectiveness in the financial investments and the currency, technical and material means that will be used. Work for this begins right at the planning stage. Hence, it is essential that this is placed on

scientific foundations, from the enterprises to the centre. Greater attention should be devoted to comprehensive studies on the need for and profitability of every project and the funds required. Likewise, the scientific criteria and the technical and economic indices of the calculation of effectiveness must be determined as early as possible and control must be exercised to ensure that they are applied obligatorily, both in the construction and in the exploitation of the projects. It is of special importance to make perspective studies for the development of various branches of the economy, as well as of the enterprises and cooperatives. These studies should serve as starting-points for the drafting of five-year plans and the rational and thrifty use of basic investments.

The structure of investments will be further improved during the 7th Five-year Plan, increasing the proportion for machinery and equipment and reducing that for construction-installation work. The fact that about 40 per cent of the investments in industry and the other branches will be used for extension, reconstruction and modernization of existing enterprises will exert a considerable influence in this direction. This is an advantageous course which results in large savings of funds for construction and speeds up the extension of productive capacities, based on a higher level of equipment and technology. The organs of planning, construction and finance are charged with

the task of working carefully and fighting persistently to attain this objective.

As in every other field, in investments and construction especially, saving time is one of the decisive factors to reduce unutilized investments and uncompleted construction work and to ensure fulfilment of the targets of the plan of production, national income and accumulation, to strengthen the stability of the market and monetary circulation, etc. The setting of standards for the time required to build various projects and of limits for the amount of unutilized investments and uncompleted construction work must serve as an effective means for the strengthening of check-up on the planning and utilization of investments.

Greater care must be displayed towards the investments that the agricultural cooperatives make with their own means, which during this five-year plan are forecast to reach 2 billion 750 million leks. These investments should figure more clearly in the plan of economic development, and the way in which they are carried out must be followed carefully by the cooperatives themselves and the state and economic organs, so that in the future important funds are not allowed to remain unused.

The further reduction of the cost of construction work remains a great problem, because, despite the progress made, it is still high. Hence, it is necessary that the designers, the technologists, the builders and the producers of building materials,

in close collaboration with the economists, draft and apply appropriate designs, use standard light structural elements and produce a wide range of very resistant, high quality construction materials, applying the advanced experience of the country and the world.

The Ministry of Construction, the other central departments and their enterprises, that have a large amount of machinery at their disposal, must concern themselves and struggle to ensure the rational and complete exploitation of this powerful base. Construction work cannot proceed at the rates it has assumed and is assuming without making a radical change in the mechanization of the work, in the industrialization of construction and in achieving a considerable increase in the productivity of labour in this sector.

During the 7th Five-year Plan transport will be further extended in order to respond better to the needs of the economy for the circulation of goods inside and outside the country, as well as for the movement of passengers. Bearing in mind the needs of the development of the economy and the great economic advantages of railway transport, it will be given priority and will be developed more rapidly. During this five-year plan new railway lines and sidings, equal to over 37 per cent of the total length of the existing railway system, will be built.

The realization of these structural changes in

transport calls for new organizational forms and a series of other technical measures to intensify the exploitation of railways, to increase the available rolling stock, the mechanization of loading and unloading operations and the rapid movement of goods at the stations, etc.

While giving priority to railway transport, there must be no lessening of concern for the development of sea transport, in internal and foreign waters, as a profitable form of bulk transport, or for the rational and fullest possible use of all motor transport, especially that under the control of individual enterprises. Great importance will be attached to the production and use of trailers, especially those of big capacity.

The raising of the level of utilization and maintenance of means of transport, the realization of the plan in all its indices, are major tasks for the organizations of the Party and all the working people of transport.

4. Export Must Be Increased and Hard Currency Used Sparingly

Our foreign trade has been developed and extended continuously. Today we trade with more than 50 states in various regions of the world. We shall strive to extend our trade relations still further, in the interests of our country and on the basis

of mutual benefit. In the development of our economy we have always followed the course of ceaselessly strengthening our political and economic independence, but we have never aimed and do not aim at an autarkic development, while we have always struggled against any pressure to integrate our economy into the economy of capitalist and revisionist countries.

By applying this correct Marxist-Leninist course, and increasing the volume of exports perceptibly, even though we encountered serious obstacles and difficulties, **in the last years of the past five-year period our economy managed for the first time to balance all the necessary imports with exports. This balance was achieved without detriment to the rates of the development of the economy, or the standard of living of the people.** This is another historic victory of our Party and people on the road of the complete construction of socialist society, a clear expression of the economic strength of our country.

In 1985 exports of goods are forecast to be 58-60 per cent greater than in 1980, while imports will go up 56-58 per cent. Thus, the active balance of foreign trade will be further strengthened and the fulfilment of the targets of the five-year plan as a whole will be more firmly guaranteed.

Considerable improvements will be made in the structure of our exports. In the 7th Five-year Plan heavy industry will ensure from exports more

than twice as much income in hard currency as in the last five-year plan. Seventy-three per cent of the total export goods will be processed products, as against 70 per cent during the last five-year plan.

Production in quantity and with quality, the delivery of export goods on time, the struggle to produce at the lowest possible cost, must be the order of the day. Everybody must think and work to find new export resources.

During the five-year plan, the instruction of the Party that machinery, certain raw materials and materials for the expansion of local production should make up the bulk, about 93 per cent, of our imports, will be realized to a higher degree and more fully. With the further development of production it will be possible to increase the proportion of machinery and equipment and decrease the proportion of import of raw and various other materials.

In the field of imports, one of the greatest and most serious problems which calls for deeper knowledge and concrete preparatory measures, collaboration and co-ordination of work by all the central departments, the technologists, designers and constructors, as well as by the Ministry of Foreign Trade, is to secure machines and complete sets of equipment for the new projects and for the reconstructions and modernizations that will be carried out during the five-year plan.

The fulfilment of the tasks in the field of foreign trade requires the thorough inculcation in everybody of the concept that imports and exports must always be seen in unity, always giving priority to exports. Just as it is demanded that import goods should be delivered according to plan, because any disorder and delay in this direction has not only economic, but also political and social consequences, it is equally if not more necessary to work and struggle to realize the plan of exports properly.

Today, the struggle to make savings, both in the goods we export and in the raw materials and other things we import, assumes special importance for our country. Savings must be made especially in the use of coke, fuel oil and residual oil, steels, black ironplate and lubricating oils, tyres and other materials. Scientifically studied norms must be established for the use of such and like materials and rigorous control must be exercised. Everyone must strive to replace costly primary materials with others, less costly and more profitable, to produce locally machinery, equipment and goods we import today.

The considerable increase in the export-import volume and the fulfilment of the major tasks in this sector require marked improvement in the activity of the organs of foreign trade and enhancement of their professional skills and ability to find their bearings in every situation, to a higher level.

5. The Level of Well-being of the People Must Be Guaranteed and Gradually Raised

The construction of socialist society is an all-sided revolutionary process. Therefore, the Party has seen the development of production in unity with the strengthening of the socialist social order, the fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the working masses with their communist education, the well-being of the whole people with the strengthening of the independence and defence potential of the Homeland, the general and collective with the personal, the present with the future, the development of the town with the progress of the countryside.

In the development of production and all other social activities the Party has always had the working man, the fulfilment of his material and cultural needs, in the centre of its attention. During the 6th Five-year Plan, too, although the set targets were not fully achieved, the purchasing power and the real income per head of population rose both in town and in countryside, the supply of mass consumer goods steadily increased, and the housing conditions of the working people were further improved. There have been no price rises in food-stuffs, or industrial goods, fuels and electric power, house rents or charges for services for the people. The

fund of social consumption increased 20 per cent, and each family received benefits averaging nearly 4,000 leks a year from this fund.

With the development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy during the 7th Five-year Plan, the material well-being and the cultural level of the people will be guaranteed and raised. Despite the huge program of investments and expenditure for the development of the economy and the increase in the norm of accumulation from about 30 per cent in the 6th Five-year Plan to 31-33 per cent in the 7th Five-year Plan, the real income per capita of the population will go up 8-10 per cent. The rate of increase in real income in the countryside will be more than double that in the town. The production of mass consumer goods will increase 33-35 per cent and services for the people 45-47 per cent. There will be increased supplies of meat, fish, eggs, vegetables, potatoes and fruit. Improvements are envisaged in the structure of mass consumer products and the supply of durable household goods, in order to make living conditions easier and to ensure a more cultured family life.

To attain the objectives in the field of well-being, the work and efforts must be concentrated, in the first place, on fulfilling the targets for increasing production and raising its efficiency in industry, agriculture and all the other branches and sectors. Special attention must be paid to

ensure knowledge and implementation of the requirements of the laws which govern production and distribution, the circulation of goods and money in socialism. The productivity of labour must increase more rapidly than the per capita income, the national income must increase more rapidly than the purchasing power of the population, the purchasing power of the population must be covered with goods and services taking into account not only their total quantity, but also the suitability of their structure. Violation of these proportions would bring about disorder in the monetary circulation, which cannot be conceived or achieved apart from production, the circulation of products and various goods, and the creation and distribution of incomes.

The working people of the trade sector are faced with major tasks in order to serve the people and meet their daily needs and requirements better. They must radically improve their work, collaborate more closely with the other organs of the economy, make profound studies, organize a cultured trade, enhance their active role in production and become a barrier to poor quality products. Special care must be given to the sale of food-stuffs in the countryside, both by the state trade network and by the cooperatives, in order to give proper support to the initiatives and the measures applied recently for the further reduction of the cooperativist personal plot and the formation

of joint herds from the personal livestock of the cooperativists.

The improvement of the housing conditions of the population has always been one of the important issues of the Party's policy in the field of well-being. Today, about 80 per cent of the population lives in houses built during the years of the people's state power. During the 6th Five-year Plan, more than 56 thousand flats and houses were built by the state and the people themselves. It is essential to speed up the rates of housing construction in order to solve the problems of housing better than has been done up till now. Therefore, during the 7th Five-year Plan it is envisaged that more than 80 thousand new flats and houses will be built to accommodate about 400 thousand people. Although house rents are among the lowest in the world, they have not been and will not be raised.

The organs of communal economy have major tasks for the maintenance of these buildings which are an asset that increases from year to year. However, they are faced with even greater tasks for the extension of services for the people, for the radical improvement of these services in quality and for the reduction of their cost, and in particular, for the extension of communal and repair services to the countryside. In regard to these and other problems connected with the daily life of the people, there must be greater responsibility and interest from the executive committees of the districts, which

frequently concern themselves mostly with the fulfilment of production plans.

The education and cultural development of the working people, and the protection and strengthening of their health have always been at the centre of attention of our Party and socialist state. Raising the level of education and culture of the masses constitutes a condition and sound basis for the economic and social progress of the whole country, for strengthening the defence potential of the Homeland, and for the constant improvement of the life of the people. The increased level of knowledge and culture of the people represents a great potential for the realization of the current and future plans, for the advance of technical and scientific progress to new heights. Therefore, during this five-year plan education, culture and science will be further developed.

The number of pupils enrolled in secondary schools will grow considerably. Besides the children from the cities, more and more children from the countryside will be included in secondary schooling. Vocational secondary schools will be extended and profolized, in order to respond better to the rapid development of the economy, the creation of new branches and the introduction of new technologies in production. About 160 thousand pupils will graduate from all categories of secondary schools during this five-year period, as against 113 thousand during the last five-year period.

Special attention will be given to the development of higher education, in which 45 per cent more students than in the 6th Five-year Plan will be enrolled. New profiles will be opened and post-university qualification and specialization will be extended.

New steps forward will be taken in the various sectors of culture, just as in schooling, so that their work extends more deeply among the masses and serves their education better. Publication of political, scientific, technical and artistic books will increase. The total printed will be 1 million more than in the last five-year plan. Cinematography will assume further development. The radio-television network will be extended through the setting up of relay and repeater stations with the aim of covering all the zones of the country. During the 7th Five-year Plan colour television broadcasts will begin. For the revolutionary and patriotic education of the working people new museums will be built in the towns and villages and the existing ones will be further enriched. Important projects in this field are the Museum of National History in Tirana, the Skanderbeg Museum in Kruja, the Museum of People's Material Culture in Shkodra, etc.

In this five-year plan, more funds are allocated for the development of physical culture and sports. Sports facilities will be extended and new sports palaces and stadiums will be built. They will serve

the physical training and recreation of the youth, making them better prepared for work and defence. Those taking part in sports and physical culture must respond to this care of the Party by attaining the highest possible level of results.

A genuine revolution has been carried out in the protection of the health of the people during the years of the people's state power. The network of different health institutions has been greatly extended, the medical service has been continually improved and all the other measures for the protection and strengthening of the health of the people have been extended. This successful course will be continued during the 7th Five-year Plan, too. The all-round prophylactic measures will be extended further and undergo a qualitative improvement in both town and countryside, but especially in the latter. Special attention will be given to improving the health service in order to raise the quality of treatment and medical aid and to strengthen the measures for the protection of the health of mother and child, with the aim of further reducing the rate of infantile mortality. The decision on the extension of maternity leave to nearly 6 months will assist in this direction.

Our country is characterized by a dynamic growth in the population, a structure in which younger age-groups predominate, and a population which is always active and fresh. The Party has always worked to ensure that the demographic

processes are studied and treated on a more scientific basis, so that the population continues to increase at suitable rates.

Not only are unemployment and economic emigration unknown in our country, but the dynamic development of the productive forces and social and cultural activities always require new work forces. All the new forces that will become available during this five-year plan, amounting to about 210 thousand people, will be employed mainly in production. Employment of the new work force calls for profound studies by the State Planning Commission, the State Committee of Labour and Wages, the other central departments, the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts, the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.

Naturally, the Party and the state will strive to open up new jobs wherever there are people, however, this depends, to a large extent, on the distribution of natural resources and riches. Therefore, some of the new work force will have to work wherever the country needs them and wherever more jobs are available. This process must be supported better through the development of urban centres, the development of transport, the improvement of working conditions and through adjustments to the pay system to encourage people to take jobs in the remote zones or under difficult working conditions, too.

6. We Must Perfect the Management of the Economy and Raise Its Efficiency

Management and organization are one of the most important links which we must grasp firmly to ensure progress everywhere, in the economy, education, science, culture, in all the fields of social activity.

In the existing conditions, when our economy has become a large-scale complex economy, it cannot be managed and progress with outdated concepts and practices. Today empiricism and narrow practicism cannot do the job. Management and organization must be based on profound knowledge and learning, on sound scientific principles and criteria which stem from the laws of our economic and social development.

Management of the economy on the basis of these laws requires that the problems of the development of the productive forces must always be considered in close connection with their social aspects, with all the components which make up our socialist life. This has to do with the practical, well-planned and well-organized application of that reciprocal interaction between the productive forces and the economic relations and the relations of the superstructure, which we talk about, but which, in practice, we sometimes forget or skate over lightly. These harmful manifestations must be

eliminated and combated, because they are fraught with the danger of management from positions of economism and technocracy.

The people's economy, as a unified socialist economy, is run on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism and the general state plan. If this management is violated in the slightest, proceeding from narrow, particular interests, this shows that the directives of the Party, the laws of the economy and rules of our socialist state are not understood profoundly and are not applied correctly. Therefore, manifestations of departmentalism and work shut away within districts or institutions, must be combated. Collaboration and cooperation in the work on various problems must be strengthened on the basis of the line and policy of the Party, in order to provide rapid solutions to problems in conformity with the competences given to everybody concerned.

The main thing is that everyone, guided by the line, policy and ideology of the Party, must carry out the tasks he has been charged with, must master his job, must display initiative and persistence and bear full responsibility for the work he carries out in the sector which he runs or in which he works. Demanding and rendering account in regard to the competences and functions allocated and fulfilment of targets of the plan is a norm that stems from our social order, from the principle of democratic centralism. This norm must be

implemented without any concessions at all the levels, allowing no kind of liberalism and petty-bourgeois sentimentality.

The Party has always stressed that socialism is the deed of the broad working masses under its leadership. The objective necessity that the working masses take an active part in running the life of the country, master the art of managing the economy, stems from this. This question of principle must be deeply implanted in the minds and consciousness of everybody. The situation must be achieved that all the working people everywhere speak out freely, give their own opinions and judgements, criticize the shortcomings and all those who violate the state rules and discipline, so that the work goes ahead.

Of special importance for the scientific organization and management of the economy is the drafting of realistic and mobilizing plans, based on all-round studies of the current and future problems, on profound generalizations and analyses. More careful work must be done during the implementation of the plan, too, solving the problems which crop up correctly and quickly. It is true that the plan is a law and to implement it is a state duty, but this must not impede the taking of measures to make eventual changes in order to improve its indices whenever this is necessary and possible.

More care should be devoted to check-up on

the implementation of the plan. This must be a vigorous, active, daily check-up, not just to observe the shortcomings and weaknesses, but to solve problems on the spot. In particular, the internal economic, financial and technical control in the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives must be strengthened. The organs of finance and the bank must put control by monetary means in the place due to it and further enhance their active role in production, circulation and services, while using the other levers of our economic mechanism correctly and more effectively.

The strengthening of management and organization requires that the necessary improvements are made in the existing structures of the state organs and various organisms of the economy whenever this becomes essential. Just as we are fighting to increase production and perfect its technology, so must we act to alter the obsolete forms and methods of management, putting into practice new, more effective structures and forms which are more active and less costly.

The work of management and organization must be expressed in the increase in production and the greater effectiveness of expenditure in all the fields of economic activity. During the 7th Five-year Plan, the national income will increase more rapidly than the social production; more than 46 per cent of the increase will be secured from the increase in the productivity of labour;

in industry and construction productivity will go up 2-3 times more rapidly than in the last five-year period; the growth in net income of the enterprises will be achieved mainly from reduction in costs in production, construction work and services.

The correct proportionate development of the entire economy, achievement of the rates envisaged and all the targets of the plan relying on our own forces, depend, to a large degree, on the fulfilment of these objectives. The ways to attain them must be sought in the sphere of production, in the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, the extension of mechanization, the strengthening of discipline and the full utilization of working time, in the reduction of costs and the rational use of the material and technical base, hence, in the discovery and exploitation of all the internal reserves of the economy, while basing ourselves firmly on advanced experience and the achievements of science and technology.

The decisive factor to ensure the rise in the efficiency of production and to carry forward the whole economy is people working with high quality and productivity. This requires that the level of qualification of the working people must be raised, that their initiative and creativeness must be developed and that they become conscious of the importance and possibility of achieving the targets of the plan.

Another major problem, that is linked directly with the management and organization of the economy and the raising of its efficiency, is the extension and strengthening of cooperation in all fields of economic and social activity. This is dictated by the further development of the social division of labour and economic ties. Production has been enriched with numerous branches and activities, the productive forces have been extended all over the country. The specialization of productive activities has become more pronounced and science and technology have advanced. Under these conditions, lack of cooperation and collaboration for the solution of various problems not only prevents us from utilizing the superiorities of the socialist economy as a unified economy, but also impedes the rapid development of the economy.

In this context, a more profound and complete understanding and application of the principle of self-reliance in the field of the economy and all other fields is required from everyone. In regard to the rest of the world, our country applies this principle as a single body, so, all together, all the branches and sectors of the economy ensure, and must at all costs ensure, the independence and ceaseless development of the country. On the internal plane, self-reliance of the economic branches, districts, enterprises and cooperatives must be understood as a struggle waged shoulder to shoulder, in firm socialist solidarity, in close, all-round

cooperation and collaboration with one another, for the fulfilment of the targets of the unified, general state plan.

Our economy has always proceeded on a correct Marxist-Leninist course. Its stability, vitality and dynamism are clear and concrete proof of this. These fundamental features of our socialist economy will be consolidated and carried still further forward through the struggle and efforts of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, under the leadership of the Party, to put into practice the objectives of the 7th Five-year Plan which we are endorsing at this Congress.

WE MUST CEASELESSLY STRENGTHEN THE PARTY AND FURTHER ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS WORK

Our Party of Labour, unwaveringly loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a determined fighter against external and internal enemies and with its roots deep in the people who gave birth to it and raised it, has led the Albanian people with wisdom and foresight from victory to victory, at each stage of the revolution and the socialist construction of the country.

The Party has also accomplished with honour the great, difficult and complex tasks set by its 7th Congress. The struggle and work for the accomplishment of these tasks has further strengthened and steeled the Party, enhanced its leading role and fighting spirit, revolutionized the life and activity of the basic organizations, the forums and the members of the Party and tempered the steel unity of its ranks and its close links with the broad masses of the people.

The general mobilization of the communists and the entire people to carry out the tasks which the Party has set, the great revolutionary actions and movements and the wonderful solidarity of our people are clear expressions of this monolithic unity of the Party and of the people around it. This unity has been and is the decisive factor, the key factor of all our victories in the socialist construction and defence of the Homeland.

The continuous struggle the Party has waged for the revolutionization of its ranks through its work for raising the ideological, political and cultural level of its members, increasing their activity as political and social militants, and for strengthening its proletarian composition has served to strengthen the Party and enhance its leading role. Militating in the ranks of the Party is a whole army of communists who have displayed unwavering loyalty to the correct line of the Party in all the situations we have gone through. As always, the Albanian communists have fought and worked with revolutionary courage and optimism, and have shown themselves to be able organizers, educators and leaders of the masses.

The intensification of the struggle against manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy in the activity of the organs and basic organizations of the Party, the elimination of the consequences of the work of enemies in some sectors of the economy, in art, culture and the army, intended to displace the

leading role of the Party, and the observation and implementation of the principles and norms of the Party everywhere, have further enhanced its militant spirit, have made the Party more mature, more able and determined to accomplish the new great tasks that emerge in the course of the socialist construction of the country.

1. We Must Further Enhance and Perfect the Leading Role of the Party

The experience of our Party over 40 years proves that only a party, which is based firmly on the Marxist-Leninist science can become the true leader of the working class, can achieve its hegemony and ensure the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialist society. Our Party has always stood in the forefront of the struggle and work of the masses, it is the leader everywhere, in policy and ideology, in the state and the economy, in education, culture and science, in the army and all the other sectors of the life of the country. No problem, simple or complicated, current or of the future, can be solved without the leadership of the Party. This has been and remains a law for us. The single and indivisible leadership of the Party is the source of all the victories in the socialist construction and the surest guarantee for the brilliant future we are building.

The Party does not place itself or remain in the leadership by chance. It secures its leading role through its correct line and its persistent struggle and work to put this line into practice. Basing itself on the theory of the most advanced class of society — the proletariat, on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, on the laws of the materialist development of society, the Party has a broad range of vision, an elaborated and scientific opinion. It sees clearly in any situation, understands the present, foresees the future and knows how to anticipate events, by defining and always applying a revolutionary strategy and tactics which express the interests of the working class and the working masses.

The Party realizes its leading role everywhere and on every question through the basic organizations and the party members. The better the ideology and political line of the Party in general, and each of its decisions and directives in particular, are grasped and applied by every organization and member, the stronger the Party and its links with the masses become, and the more its leading role is enhanced in all the links of the socialist construction. This is a decisive condition for the fulfilment of the great tasks which face us at the present stage of the development of the country and in the concrete conditions under which we are building socialism. With the Party strong as steel, vigilant and fearless in the lead, the cause of the revolution and socialism is invincible.

The formation of a clearer and more complete concept of the realization of the leading role of the Party in all the links and in every field is of special importance. In practice, some party committees, bureaus and basic organizations have a narrow understanding of this question. Some think mistakenly that «the apparatuses and leading organs alone are the Party» and not the large, organized mass of all the communists. Others do not understand or fully realize the leading role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and under the slogan, «the Party leads everything», involve the party organizations, committees and their leaders in the practical solution of minor problems of production, administration, technology, etc. Apparently, it is not thoroughly understood by everybody that all the party members, wherever they work, run the affairs of the Party, that the Party exercises its leadership en bloc, in an organized and centralized way, by means of all its levers — the state and economic organs and the mass organizations.

This is why, in their handling and solution of different problems, some party organs and organizations pay more attention to the technical and administrative aspects and neglect the political and ideological aspects, the problems of the economic, cultural and military policies of the Party, or the work with the people, which is their main duty. Such judgements and actions lead to the monopoliza-

tion of affairs, suppress the initiative of the cadres and the masses, duplicate and displace the levers of the Party and weaken and vitiate the leading role of the Party itself.

Our Party has always had a correct concept of its role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has played this role correctly. Therefore, it is very important to establish thorough understanding and ever better application in practice of the fact that the work of the Party is not the work of the party organs and basic organizations only, and even less, of their apparatuses. The state and economic organs, the commands and staffs of the army, the mass organizations, all the cadres and working people, whether party members or not, also carry out the work of the Party, because they are all guided by the ideology and line of the Party and carry out the laws and regulations of the state and its plans in which this line is embodied.

This in no way reduces or diminishes the full responsibility of the party organizations and their leading role on all questions. However, they cannot do everything themselves. Therefore, the party organizations charge their levers with different tasks, mobilize them, open perspectives to them, guide them in their work, check up on them and call them to account for the precise fulfilment of their tasks. Through the party members who function in them, the party forums and basic organizations work to

make these levers conscious and set them in motion so that they carry out the functions, tasks and responsibilities with which they are charged, in a revolutionary way and with initiative.

These questions must be thoroughly understood, not only by the organizations of the Party, but also by its levers and every cadre. The Party has assigned to everybody his tasks, competences and responsibilities. It guides, checks up on and demands a rendering of account from all. But everyone must master his own job, should act with initiative and persistence and, according to the competences given him within the line of the Party, should bear complete responsibility for the fulfilment of the tasks set in the sector which he runs. From this point of view, those tendencies seen in practice, in which some state and economic organs, allegedly to ensure the leading role of the Party, seek the opinion and permission of the organizations and forums of the Party about everything and try to legitimize their actions by entering into partnership with the latter in this way, are not correct. This is not ensuring the leading role of the Party, but a tendency to divide the responsibility with the organization of the Party.

The state and economic organs, the mass organizations and their cadres are not apolitical, dealing only with technical, agro-technical, military or other questions. Basing themselves on the line of the Party, they, too, work and fight for its appli-

cation. Naturally, the party organization has its own responsibility when it allows failure on the part of certain directors or administrators to perform the duties they have been charged with. It must help these people, guide them, educate and correct them, make them face up to their responsibilities, and when the need arises, put in their place all those who want to act as they please, either under cover of the basic organization or in the name of the party member. In this way, the danger of mistakes is diminished, the cadres mature and their sense of responsibility for the work increases.

The party organizations take up and will continue to take up all issues: the problems of the economy, culture, defence and the entire life of the country. Otherwise they cannot remain the vanguard and give leadership. They must be able to grasp the most important issues at the given moment, provide correct, justified, theoretically supported solutions to them, examine how the line and directives of the Party are understood and applied by the party members, the cadres, the economic and state organs and the mass organizations, and call them to account when they do not fulfil their tasks — this is the basis of their ability. The party organization bears direct responsibility for this. It must concentrate its attention on these questions and not become involved in the solution of minor concrete problems for which the Party has created special organs and organisms.

The work of the Party is, first of all, work with people, work for their education, enlightenment, mobilization and organization. This must never be forgotten, otherwise the Party is diverted from its main task and function as a leader, is transformed into an operative organism and assumes state functions. This constitutes a great danger for a party in power. This is a danger we have pointed out long ago to prevent it from ever becoming a serious threat.

The invincible strength of our revolution, of our socialist social order, lies in the masses of the people, in their high level of political consciousness, in their readiness and determination to build and defend socialism. This is the glorious deed of the Party, which it must consolidate and carry steadily forward through its ideological, political and organizational work.

To this end, it is necessary that the organizations of the Party and all the party members merge with the masses and work tirelessly amongst them, are well acquainted with their moral-political state, always informed about the problems worrying the masses, explain the situation to them, convince them of the importance of the tasks set, and make clear to them the directives of the Party and the laws of the state. The party members are required to educate the masses with the communist outlook and morality, to combat any backward remnant or alien manifestation, to concern themselves with the

life of the masses, to encourage and support the creative work and initiatives of the masses, to mobilize them and involve them in actions to strengthen the economy, raise the level of culture and enhance the defence potential of the Homeland.

2. The Effectiveness of the Work of the Party and the Sense of Responsibility of the Party Organs and Organizations Should Be Increased

The present stage of rapid, all-round development and the great and daring tasks which we have to solve require that the effectiveness of the work of the Party must be raised to a higher level in all its links and in all directions. The work of the Party is broad and all-sided, an harmonious synthesis of political, ideological, organizational, administrative, economic and psychological aspects which must be carried out as such. Its effectiveness is measured by the concrete results in the fulfilment of targets in each sector of social activity.

In practice there are instances when the work of the Party is conceived narrowly. Some party organs and basic organizations forget the perspective, do not penetrate below the surface of problems and base themselves only on what they have learned from practice, without confronting this with advanced experience and thinking, with the

changes that have taken place in the life of the country and the people. In most instances of failure to fulfil economic plans or shortcomings in the work of certain enterprises, agricultural cooperatives or some district, such manifestations are the cause.

Culture, learning, competence and scientific knowledge are required in our work nowadays. We often repeat that we have been obliged to march on untrodden paths, that we have been obliged to seek and create. However, this cannot be achieved without deep knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory and without scientific study and generalization of the revolutionary practice of the communists and the working masses. Today, the problems of production, the organization of work, education and culture, science and defence, cannot be correctly and successfully solved without serious studies. It is necessary to do such studies, also, on the work of the Party itself, in management, organization and education. Studies and generalizations broaden the horizon and open clear perspectives to the organizations of the Party, the communists and the working people, help to combat manifestations of routine, formalism and superficiality, to create sound convictions and to define the right measures and ways to carry out the current and future tasks.

The party organs and organizations must make better use of the qualified opinion of the specialists, activists and other competent people, whom the

Party has trained, in every sector. They are required to support and encourage advanced scientific thinking and ensure that it is applied in the solution of problems. They must combat manifestations of sectarianism and underestimation of advanced experience and thinking. In this direction the communists must be the first to set the example. A good communist is one who makes a profound study of science, who learns continually by his own efforts and from others, who follows the development of society, supports the progressive new and thinks about the future.

The work of the Party is not only agitation and propaganda to enlighten and convince people, but also the work of organization and mobilization to implement the line and directives of the Party. The work of the Party leads, educates and mobilizes the communists and the masses for revolutionary actions, so that they think, work and fight as revolutionaries.

The Party has fought manifestations of one-sidedness in the work of some party organs and basic organizations, which give priority to repeated meetings and lengthy reports and discussions rather than to the clear definition of the tasks and concrete measures to carry them out. This explains why there are cases when, although many meetings are held to analyse the state of affairs in this or that sector, still the problems remain unsolved and the situation does not change.

Experience has shown that problems are solved and tasks fulfilled, not just by appeals to the conscience of the communists and the workers, but also when the work to carry out tasks and convince people is accompanied by all-round measures, by organization and concrete guidance, check-up and calling to account. The ideological and technical-organizational measures constitute a dialectical unity; they educate, mobilize and impel people to revolutionary actions.

Perfection of the vanguard role of the communists has been the main task of the organs and basic organizations of the Party and remains so for the future. In the present conditions especially, it is the duty of the communists to increase their demands on themselves to uphold this lofty title, to fight any alien manifestation in themselves and in others, to be advanced people in every direction. The communists must be outstanding for their revolutionary determination and active participation in the daily struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, must be always on the most difficult and important front of the work and struggle, must be talented organizers and leaders who act with responsibility for the implementation of the line of the Party.

The masses carry out the decisions of the organization of the Party and follow the communists when they do not separate their words from their deeds, when they think, work and make sacrifices

for the interests of the working people, socialism and the Homeland. To be a communist and a revolutionary means you must undertake and accomplish great tasks, must not mark time or be content with the normal rates, but fight for rapid development on all fronts, and always take the side of the new and defend it.

The work of the Party is effective when the party organizations and all the party members develop the ability to act on their own initiative, develop the creative and innovative spirit widely. In this direction there are many examples and positive experience everywhere. However, among some party organizations, some cadres and party members in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, central departments and institutions, it is necessary to combat manifestations of waiting for instructions, procrastination and hesitation, lack of initiative to solve problems which are within their competences.

Methods of work, management and organization are not prescribed once and for all and unalterable. Life progresses, our socialist society is developing ceaselessly, the conditions change. This development requires us to be creative and inventive, to find new, more flexible and varied forms of work, and to continually renew and enrich them so that they respond better to the requirements of the time.

More qualified and effective work is required in analysing the directives of the Party. This is a

fundamental task of the basic organizations and all members of the Party. The directives of the Party express its line, define the tasks facing the communists and the masses for the solution of different problems. Good experience has been gained in the work of analysing the directives of the Party. However, the manifestations of formalism and stereotyped practices, which are still observed in the work of some party organs and basic organizations, must be combated more forcefully. Sometimes the directives and decisions of the Party are not transmitted to the grassroots, to the people, with the same seriousness and force with which the Central Committee or the district party committees put them forward. They are simply transmitted mechanically to lower levels without regard for the concrete conditions and situations in which the party organization operates, or the tasks it has to carry out.

To analyse the directive of the Party means to explain the need for it and its importance from the political, ideological and economic viewpoint, to bring out the tasks which emerge for the party organizations, the mass organizations, the state, economic, cultural and other organs, in conformity with the concrete conditions of each district, zone, sector and collective, and to define the ways and necessary measures to fulfil these tasks.

Launching the masses into revolutionary actions for the complete and creative application of the directive is of decisive importance. It is here, in

the heat of this battle, that the correctness of the directive of the Party is tested and the necessary additions and amendments made to it. In actions and through actions the party members and the masses strengthen their conviction in the directives of the Party, are educated, tempered, display their revolutionary initiatives, achieve the unity of words with deeds and ensure accelerated rates of work for the fulfilment of tasks on time and with good quality. Actions also serve to combat bureaucratic and technocratic methods, procrastination, personal ease and self-satisfaction, and help to stir people everywhere into activity in life and work.

The work of the Party becomes effective when the party organs and organizations are aware of and bear full responsibility for the implementation of the line of the Party and the fulfilment of the tasks of the state plan. There can be no struggle and efforts, no revolutionary actions for the solution of problems without a sense of responsibility. The tasks are carried out by working and struggling with devotion and sacrifice, by putting your shoulder to the wheel and performing your duties to the last detail, with good quality and high efficiency.

It is a fact that the overwhelming majority of the party organs and organizations, the party members and cadres work with a high sense of responsibility. However, organizations, communists and cadres can be found who do not struggle persist-

ently to overcome difficulties and obstacles and to fulfil the tasks. Manifestations of indifference and making excuses, and covering up shortcomings and weaknesses with general statements are nothing but a reflection of the lack of a sense of responsibility.

The Party must struggle to increase the sense of responsibility, not only in its own ranks but also in the organs and organisms it leads, in all the working people and cadres. Building up the collective sense of responsibility of every party organ and basic organization and of their levers, and the individual sense of responsibility of every party member and cadre, creates a great guarantee for the fulfilment of tasks at all times and in all fields.

The sense of responsibility is strengthened when the demand that everybody must render account is made more rigorous, when there is strict check-up on the fulfilment of tasks. Despite the improvements achieved in this direction, there are still manifestations of liberalism and sentimentality, a spirit of justification and signs that check-up is underrated, as well as formalism and superficiality in exercising it. Sometimes check-up and calling to account are weak because the tasks and decisions have been set out only in general terms and, as a consequence, cannot be controlled.

Every party member or member of some party forum, regardless of his post and function, must render full account himself, and demand that others do the same, on his work to carry out the line and

directives of the Party, the decisions of the basic organization and state duties. This is achieved when the party members engage in self-criticism courageously and without hesitation, as well as in criticism of anybody who does not fulfil his task, when they wage a determined struggle against fear, vengeance and petty-bourgeois indifference. A self-critical attitude towards shortcomings, the courage of the party members to criticize and call to account are an example and great source of inspiration for all the working masses.

«... a well-organized check,» Stalin teaches us, «is the searchlight which helps to reveal how the apparatus is functioning at any moment and to bring bureaucrats and red-tapists into the light of day.»¹

We must always bear this teaching in mind and put it into practice consistently. It is the duty of the organs and organizations of the Party to invigorate and strengthen the party control and the state control, the worker and mass control, and see that they are exercised consistently in a combined way. Control from above, parallel control or control from below must necessarily be more active, must be accompanied with concrete help, must open perspectives and teach people how to organize their

¹ J. V. Stalin, Selected Works, pp. 418-419. Tirana 1979, Alb. ed.

work, how to mobilize themselves and cope with difficulties for the fulfilment of tasks.

3. The Established Criteria for Increasing the Ranks of the Party Must Be Applied Correctly

Our Party has always applied correct criteria for the increase of its ranks, with determination and in a revolutionary way. This has made the Party stronger and healthier and increased the effectiveness of its work.

The Party comes to this Congress with its ranks increased with communists who are resolute fighters for the cause of the people, the revolution and communism, proletarians in thought and action. Now 122,600 communists, of whom nearly 38 per cent are workers, 29.4 per cent cooperativists and 32.6 per cent office workers, are militating in the ranks of the Party. Women make up 30 per cent of the total, or 2.5 per cent more than at the previous Congress. Members of the Party make up 4.5 per cent of the population; 24,363 candidates for membership, 42.40 per cent of them workers, 40.43 per cent cooperativists and 17.17 per cent office workers, have been admitted to the Party in the years following the 7th Congress. Of these, 40.70 per cent are women comrades.

The overwhelming majority of those admitted

to the Party, either as full members or candidates, come from the sphere of production, especially from its main fronts. They are among the best workers, the most developed politically and ideologically, those with lofty moral qualities and virtues and a high educational level, vanguard fighters and active participants in the construction of socialism.

On the basis of experience and the existing situation, the Central Committee considers that it is in order to apply in the future approximately the same rates and criteria for the increase of the ranks of the Party as in the past five years:

Priority should be given to admission of activists from the ranks of the working class, especially those working in the main branches of production, in heavy extracting and processing industry and on the big projects under construction.

Better work should be done to hasten achievement of the objective set by the 7th Congress, that in the future the cooperativist party members should occupy second place, after the workers, in the membership of the Party.

Among the office workers and the intelligentsia, those who have a high ideological, cultural, technical and scientific level and who work in the most important sectors of socialist construction and defence should be admitted.

Concern about and work for increasing the number of women in the ranks of the Party should be intensified.

The implementation of these orientations requires that the organs and basic organizations of the Party carry out more qualified and better considered work to increase the ranks of the Party. Manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy, any tendency to be in order with figures and percentages, should be resolutely combated.

The quality of admissions has been and remains decisive in the policy of the Party for the increase of its ranks. The candidates must have a good political and ideological level, must have capacity and ability, be progressive in their thoughts and actions, with broad cultural, educational and technical-professional horizons, must enjoy the trust and respect of the masses, have initiative and be consistent revolutionaries. Nobody should be admitted to the Party simply because he is the son of a worker, peasant or party member, on account of the merits of his father or mother, but on account of his own personal merits, qualities and abilities. These qualities and traits must be further tempered by the basic organizations of the Party and by each communist individually, in the daily struggle and activity.

The probation period of the candidate plays a major role in the communist formation of those newly admitted to the Party. The experience accumulated must be used to enhance the role and increase the responsibility of the party basic organizations in the continuous ideo-political education and

the revolutionary tempering of the candidate members. Such manifestations as underestimation of the probation period of the candidate, or failure to rigorously apply the rules for performing the probation period, which are sometimes seen, should be combated.

4. Improve the Work of the Party with the Cadres

Throughout the 40 years of its activity the Party has always devoted special attention to the work with cadres, and in this question of vital importance it has followed a correct policy with clear perspectives. In the course of these years it has trained a whole army of cadres of all specialities for all fields and sectors of life, who are outstanding for their lofty moral qualities and virtues, their political and ideological maturity, their loyalty and devotion to the cause of the people and socialism, and their ability and skill in the performance of their duties.

As in all other fields, the Party has its own policy in the work with cadres and has laid down clear, Marxist-Leninist guide-lines, criteria and norms. The policy of cadres is a monopoly of the Party. It is worked out by its Central Committee and applied everywhere under the leadership of the Party. This is a matter of principle which must

be understood correctly and by everyone. In connection with this problem, however, the Central Committee of the Party has criticized certain narrow concepts and corrected certain mistaken practices which have been observed in the work with cadres. The monopoly of the Party in the policy of cadres does not mean that the problems of cadres should be dealt with by the party committees alone. The confounding of these issues leads, as it did, to a great concentration of the work with cadres in the organs and organizations of the Party. The Party gives the general orientations, determines the criteria, establishes the norms for the training, education, selection and placing of cadres, but these are carried out not only by the party committees directly, but also by all its levers, the organs of the state, the economy, the army and the organizations of the masses. The Party has given every organ its competences and set it definite tasks in the work with cadres, which must be carried out responsibly, precisely, and in the party spirit. This in no way diminishes the role and responsibility of the organs and organizations of the Party, but on the contrary, reinforces them. Just as it leads and checks up on the work in every sector, the Party, likewise, leads and checks up on the implementation of its policy in the work with cadres.

The Party must display great care and attention for the proper use of cadres, in order to utilize

their intellectual and creative abilities better and ensure that these are put fully in the service of production, education and defence. The various cadres and specialists should be set tasks and assigned to functions in conformity with their profiles, specialities and experience, always bearing in mind their moral-political qualities and professional abilities. The finest specialists, those who are most talented, most capable and have given proof of their abilities, should be selected and appointed to the higher schools, the scientific-research, designing and creating institutions, in the necessary numbers and without weakening the work at the base and in production.

In promotion of cadres the requirements of the time should be kept well in mind. Able cadres, who should master their jobs and run them competently, should be promoted to all functions, both in the elected organs and in appointed positions. Otherwise the way is open to bureaucracy, routine and mediocrity. And those specialists, who are promoted in responsibility in various functions of the Party, the state, the economy and other sectors, must always remain creators and not turn into mere administrators in the narrow sense of the term.

The Party has worked, in particular, to promote cadres from the ranks of those who work directly in production, as well as from the ranks of women. People who work directly in production occupy first

place in the elected organs of the Party, the state and the mass organizations. Among the appointed cadres, those of worker origin and background comprise 33 per cent of the total. Among the cadres with higher and middle training, 44 per cent are women and girls. In order to implement the instructions given by the 7th Congress of the Party correctly, the Central Committee has pointed out to the organs and organizations of the Party that, along with the struggle against conservatism, sectarianism and technocracy, they should also fight against the formal implementation of these instructions, just to mechanically retain certain proportions, laid down as a general guide, to the detriment of quality. In the future, too, we shall continue to promote workers and women in responsibility, since this orientation is correct, however, we shall promote them not just because they are workers and women, but because they deserve promotion. We now have hundreds and thousands of able people, competent and with experience from the ranks of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the women, who have all the prerequisites to undertake greater tasks. In the course of work and with the help of older and more experienced comrades they will develop and become qualified cadres, as many of them have done.

With this large mass of people with learning available, the opinion that there are no cadres

must be rejected as utterly unfounded; therefore, it is impermissible to allow incompetent people to remain in functions which they cannot perform or to restrict ourselves to just a few people and make transfers without criteria, as sometimes occurs. In the future, as hitherto, the Party must proceed boldly in the promotion of young cadres. Of the total cadres, 38 per cent are up to 30 years of age; about 34 per cent from 31 to 40, and 28 per cent are over 41 years of age. This shows that the development and renewal of cadres is proceeding normally. Nevertheless, those manifestations of conservatism, which can still be seen and which hinder the promotion of young cadres to responsible posts, must be combated. More trust should be placed in young cadres, elected and appointed, and they will surely raise the work and deed of the Party to even loftier heights. The trust in the youth must be accompanied with help given to them, but they, on their part, must increase their efforts to work, learn and create. The Party and the people feel pride and joy when they see how the young people, whom the Party has educated, are running things and working with ability in various sectors of the life of the country.

The Party works to ensure that the active life of cadres is as long as possible. However, human life has its own laws. There are cadres who ought to retire on a pension, there are others who are physically incapable of coping with their duties,

just as there are those who, through their own fault, have not kept up with the requirements of the time. Therefore, it is absolutely indispensable that every cadre should think and work seriously, with passion and responsibility to prepare those who are going to replace him, whom the Party will employ where and when they are needed.

A task of first-rate importance in the work of the Party with cadres is the education and tempering of them as consistent revolutionaries. Our Party has always had this task at the centre of its attention. It has carried out all-sided educational activity and has taken measures to put the cadres in such conditions that they always militate for the line of the Party and are loyal servants of the people. This has been one of the guarantees ensuring the ceaseless advance of the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania.

In order to ensure our steady advance on this correct course, in the future, too, the cadres must always be armed with the ideology of the Party, implement its line and the laws of the state, take an active part in the class struggle and maintain close links with the masses. This is the only way that manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, intellectualism and technocratism can be combated successfully, and the world outlook and communist character of the cadres strengthened.

The country needs cadres with broad cultural horizons and profound scientific knowledge, cadres

who know how to make effective use of the advanced opinion and the results of science, who know the laws of development of the economy, are able to plan accurately, to apply correctly, and work methodically. It is the duty of all, elected and appointed, to raise themselves to the level of the requirements of the time and the functions entrusted to them.

To this end, we must improve the work for the training, qualification and specialization of cadres still further and place it on more scientific foundations. Their training must be done scientifically and rigorously planned on the basis of present and future needs. Our schools have major tasks in this direction, however, it must be borne in mind that qualification and specialization is done not only in schools but also in life and work. In their daily practice people must be taught to proceed methodically, to work systematically and persistently, to be capable producers and creators with imagination.

5. Further Strengthen the Political System of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Following the 7th Congress, with the adoption of the new Constitution and the other codes and laws which stem from it, the management, organization and activity of the entire system of the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat, the Party itself, the state, the armed forces, the mass organizations, etc., have been further strengthened.

The Party has always considered the work with its levers as an absolute necessity in order to carry out its program and achieve its aim. The greater and more important the tasks carried out by the Party, the more its concern about and work with the organs of the state and the mass organizations increase. Despite the successes achieved, however, some party organizations and committees and individual communists do not have a full and precise understanding of the role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are party organs and organizations which do not always ensure concrete and qualified leadership of the organs of state power and the mass organizations, there is parallelism, usurping and replacement of roles, there are communists who do not militate actively in the mass organizations, just as there are also manifestations of formalism in the work with the masses. These are defects which, in fact, weaken the force and effectiveness of the work of the Party.

It is known that the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat includes a whole system of organs and organisms with various functions, competences and responsibilities, built on the basis of democratic centralism and which function under the leadership of the Party. The problem presents

itself that this entire system has to be strengthened continuously and operate in a synchronized way, with each part of the system performing its own functions with precision, so that all of them in unison realize the objective and program of the Party.

The Party leads this organized system in the entire pyramid, from the base to the apex, through its policy and ideology, through the activity of the organizations and organs of the Party and every communist. The members of the Party and its cadres, elected and appointed to various functions of the Party, the state, the army, the economy, the mass organizations, etc., understand the responsibilities with which they are charged as a division of labour which the Party makes among its members and cadres.

Although all the levers of the Party have their own leading organs, they are led by the Party, not only as a whole but also by every party organ and basic organization. The slightest weakening of the leading role of the Party in any link would have bad consequences. This is precisely what the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists try to achieve. In their endeavours to undermine the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they aim to detach the levers from the leadership of the Party, to transform them into independent organizations, make them equal with and turn them against the Party.

The leadership of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not restrict or hinder the activity of the organs of the state or the mass organizations in any way. On the contrary, the Party works and fights to ensure that their role and responsibility are enhanced, that their initiative is developed, that they are strengthened politically and organizationally and made capable of performing their tasks in the best possible way. To this end, the Party has always criticized as alien and harmful those practices when some party organ or organization tries to establish a bureaucratic tutelage over the levers of the Party, to dictate and impose everything on them, to restrict and strangle action on their own initiative.

As the leading force of the state and society, the Party has the duty to co-ordinate the work of all the organs of the state and the organizations of the masses. And they themselves, besides carrying out their functions and tasks, must strengthen their collaboration with one another as an indispensable condition for the success of their activity. Of course, each organ and organization has its own profile and specific work, but these special features must not be absolutized, because all of them work and fight for the one aim. In cooperating they do not duplicate or replace one another, nor are they made subordinate to one another, because they are all led by the Party and each works and fights

on its own line to carry out the tasks which the Party puts before them.

The Party pays special attention to **the continuous strengthening of the organs of state power and the state administration**, from the centre to the base. The people's state power is the greatest victory and the most powerful weapon of the working class and the other working masses for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. That is why we guard this state power like the apple of our eye and continuously strengthen it in struggle against the dangers which threaten it — liberalism and bureaucracy.

The concern of the Party to consolidate and enhance the role of the state organs, and especially of the people's councils, has been and must be continuous. The Party has fought any manifestation of formalism in the activity of the people's councils and has always demanded strict implementation of their prerogatives and competences, which must never be taken over by the executive organs. Strict respect for the norms of the Constitution in regard to the legislative organs of the state power and the relationship between these organs and the executive organs of the state has to do with the preservation of the democratic character of our state power which has its roots in the people and belongs to the people.

In our country the organs of the state carry out their activity in close connection with the

working masses. In these close bonds with the people lies the invincible strength of our people's state power, therefore we must always safeguard them, strengthen them and continually perfect them. By proceeding consistently on this course, as we have always done, the role of the masses themselves, their participation in the affairs of the state, will increase, our socialist democracy, without which the dictatorship of the proletariat is inconceivable and cannot be strengthened, will be extended.

The entire activity of our state is based on the Constitution and the laws emanating from it, which are a synthesis of the content of the line and policy of the Party. The Party has never allowed and never will allow manifestations of arbitrariness and infringement of laws which would impair the interests of the society or of individual citizens, therefore it has always insisted that the laws of the state must be thoroughly known and applied to the letter by all the state organs and those who work in them. These laws must be made ever better known to the working masses through extensive propaganda work, so that they know how to perform their duties and defend their rights, know to fight any distortion of the law by anybody. Knowledge and implementation of the laws is a decisive condition to ensure that the activity of the state organs and the masses of the people is carried out in the right way and achieves success. This helps enhance discipline, order and socialist

consciousness everywhere, and bars the way to many evils.

The Party works to ensure that the elected organs of the state, from the people's councils of the villages and the districts up to the People's Assembly, their various commissions and the executive organs, check up on the implementation of all tasks and exercise their respective competences in all fields of political, economic, social-cultural, educational and scientific life. It works to ensure that the manifestations of one-sidedness seen in some state organs in the districts, which deal mainly with economic problems and show little concern for the other fields of state activity, are eliminated. The Party has also criticized the practice of certain people's councils of united villages which, proceeding from the fact that management committees of agricultural cooperatives deal with the problems of the management and development of the economy, have not followed, checked up on or demanded any rendering of account about how the tasks of the state plan in the economy were being carried out.

The major tasks that we face call for further improvement of the method and style of work of all the state organs, and the organization and management of affairs on their part. This improvement must not be conceived simply in a bureaucratic manner, as if it could be attained by increasing staff numbers. On the contrary, the or-

ganization and management of affairs are improved and perfected by combating manifestations of bureaucracy, especially in the outdated concepts, methods and forms of work, which in many cases do not respond to the stage of development and the complexity of the problems facing the country.

A more persistent struggle must be waged by the organizations of the Party and the cadres and people working in them against any lack of a sense of responsibility, various delays, over-involvement in petty daily details, lack of initiative and independent action, manifestations of servility, conformism or despotism, narrow stands taking account of the interests only of the particular sector or locality, artisan concepts and practices, etc., in the organs of state power and the state administration of the centre and the base. To be successful, this struggle must be waged through education, but also through organization, discipline and strict check-up.

In the period between the two congresses, the Central Committee of the Party and the Defence Council have taken important measures to further strengthen the defence capacity of the Homeland. The Party and the state, the military cadres, both active and reserve, have carried out great work in the army and fought successfully to eliminate the consequences of the hostile activity of Beqir Balluku and company. As a result of this, the or-

ganization, training, education and fighting readiness of our armed forces have been raised to a higher level.

The Party has never based the defence of the Homeland on external aid or the various international factors, but has relied mainly on the internal factor, on the strength, patriotism and bravery of our own people, as well as on the all-round preparation and permanent fighting readiness of the whole country for defence. The Party's directive, «The defence of the Homeland is a duty above all duties,» is becoming more and more a great reality amongst us. The enhancement of the defence capacity of the country is greatly dependent on a full and correct understanding of this directive and on the concrete struggle to implement it.

The Party demands that in the future, too, the People's Army and all its structures, as the main force for the defence of the Homeland, must be continuously strengthened, modernized and revolutionized. To this end, it is necessary that the party organizations, all the communists and all the units increase their efforts to achieve a high level of political-military preparedness, to assimilate and creatively apply the requirements of our Military Art of the People's War, to acquire perfect mastery of all types of weapons and military equipment, and to strengthen military order and discipline on the basis of the respective regulations.

In our country, army and people are an in-

divisible whole. The setting up of free military schools, according to the teachings of the great Lenin, serves to strengthen this unity and these bonds. The consolidation of these schools is making military training an intrinsic part of the life and activity of every working man.

The defence of the Homeland is strengthened and becomes impregnable when the tasks in the political, ideological, economic and military fields are understood and carried out closely and inseparably linked with one another. Such an understanding and performance of the tasks will further consolidate our internal front in all directions, will make it even more capable of coping successfully with any situation, a steel wall against which any aggressor who dares to raise a hand against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, will break his head.

In the struggle against internal and external enemies for the defence of the people's power and the victories of the socialist construction, **the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the State Security, the People's Police and the Border Forces** have made and are making an especially great and important contribution. Guided and educated by the Party, these organs, dear to the people and loyal to their interests, have always fulfilled their duties conscientiously and with a high sense of responsibility.

The party organizations in the organs of the

Ministry of Internal Affairs must extend and improve their work for the political, ideological, cultural and professional education of its forces, make their revolutionary vigilance even keener and strengthen their discipline and combat readiness. The cadres and forces of the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs must step up their efforts to acquire ever better knowledge of the forms, tactics and methods used by the enemy, so that they steadily improve their mastery of the art of their work to detect, prevent and strike hard and in time at any evil-doing and hostile activity.

The ever more profound and extensive knowledge of the line of the Party, its policy and norms, the laws of the state and implementation of them with high discipline, are indispensable prerequisites for these organs to intensify their activity and to further strengthen their class and party spirit, and their objectivity in the exercise of their functions.

Constant strengthening of the leadership of the Party and firm reliance on the people are guarantees to safeguard and further strengthen the popular character of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and ensure that they vigilantly defend the interests of the Homeland and socialism.

The judicial organs and the attorney's office have played an important role in strengthening our socialist order, in the defence and implementation of our socialist law, in waging a preventive strug-

gle against the activity of evil-doers and in applying a just penal policy according to the teachings of the Party. Our legislation has a pronounced political, ideological, educative and administrative class character. This character of our legislation must be kept well in mind in the future, too, in the work to make known and popularize the laws, as well as in the interpretation and application of them. Nothing which is against the law and which is within the jurisdiction of these organs must be allowed to pass without being investigated and judged with maturity, justice, in the party spirit and with great competence. More highly qualified specific work must be done for the education and activation of assistant judges and people's attorneys, who constitute a major force for the defence and implementation of the laws.

Our Party, as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, has always had a correct appreciation of the mass organizations which have played and are playing a role of particular importance in educating and mobilizing the workers for the fulfilment of the program of the Party. Being its levers, the social organizations base not only their general directives but also their daily activity on the policy and ideology, decisions and directives of the Party. The specific features of their work are linked, in the main, with the particular requirements of the Party in regard to the different strata of the population that are included in these organizations, and with

the forms and methods of work which each of them must use in order to fulfil its tasks.

The Trade-Unions have a special role in the education and mobilization of the working class and the other working people. Under the leadership of the Party they have successfully performed their duties with great responsibility.

The Party has charged the Trade-Unions with major tasks for the ideo-political and technical-professional education of the working class, in order to make it capable of successfully carrying out the tasks, not only in the field of production but also in all the other fields of the life of the country, of taking part actively in the management of state and social affairs, and of exercising its control, as the class in power, over everything and everybody. To this end, it is necessary that the Trade-Unions improve their educational work, make it concrete and closely linked with life, with the problems which concern the various categories of workers, such as the young workers, those living in the countryside, those working in services and on the state farms, etc., inculcating the characteristic features of the working class in all of them: they must combat routine, globalism and formalism in the educational work and employ lively, adept and varied forms of work which respond to the level, interests and demands of the class, the new situations and tasks.

As the leading class of socialist society, the

working class, as always, will bear a heavy burden during this five-year plan, too. The tasks set require that it works with great will and keen emulation, with a high sense of responsibility and firm proletarian discipline, with high productivity, quality and the spirit of thrift. It is the duty of the Trade-Unions to make the working class fully conscious of these tasks and mobilize it to carry them out, to encourage and support the initiatives, actions and creative thinking of the class, to develop revolutionary pride in the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the objectives of the state plan everywhere.

The worker must know the laws of his state thoroughly, especially those laws which teach him how to do his job properly so that the plan is fulfilled in all its indices, how to protect and administer the socialist common property, how to strengthen the order and discipline of work, etc. The worker must learn these laws together with his trade. The Trade-Unions have a broad field of activity here, just as they have in the work and struggle they must carry out to ensure that the laws of the state, which protect the rights of the workers, are rigorously applied, and not reconcile themselves to any infringement of them by anyone whomsoever. In our country duties and rights are in unity and inseparable.

In the construction of the new socialist Albania the youth have always been in the forefront of the work and struggle, a militant auxiliary of

the Party. It is a great pleasure for all of us to see the younger generation in our country growing up happy, educated, politically and ideologically enlightened, physically strong and with lofty morality. Nevertheless, the Party, the state, the society, the school and the family must take great and continuous care of the younger generation, because the youth are the future of the Homeland, the hope of the people and socialism. The Party and the Youth Union Organization must work unceasingly to raise to ever higher levels the interest of the youth in all the problems concerning the country, in political and ideological problems, problems of the economy and the defence, education and culture, science and technology, to ensure that the youth, as the most vigorous force of the people, take an active part in the socialist construction and are better and better prepared to start out in life.

The youth are an inexhaustible nursery, not only because they will provide the new blood for the rejuvenation of the ranks of the Party and the cadres, but also because they will replace the older generation, fill the ranks of the working class, the cooperativists and the intelligentsia, and will carry forward the immortal work of our Party and people. To ensure that this nursery always turns out healthy saplings, the Party demands of its members, the youth organization and the cadres assigned to work in this organization, that they improve the

work for the political, ideological, cultural and professional education of the young men and women of our country, to keep alive and develop among them the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our people, to cultivate and encourage the creative and practical spirit, and to temper the youth on the great anvil of socialist construction, the class struggle and revolutionary actions.

Our Party is confident that our youth, as always, will learn with a will in school and in life, will master science and technology, will work with their characteristic enthusiasm on all fronts, in the four corners of Albania, will learn and train to defend the Homeland and struggle persistently to assimilate the triumphant ideology of the Party.

The tasks confronting the younger generation make it necessary to strengthen and enliven the youth organization, so that its activity to educate, organize and mobilize is raised to a higher level, manifestations of liberalism, sectarianism and formalism are combated, and it employs in its work the most varied and interesting forms which respond to the level of the growing demands of the young men and women, making better use of all the conditions and means which the Party and the state have created for the education, recreation and tempering of the youth.

The Party has fought and will go on fighting consistently for the implementation of its program for the complete emancipation of the Albanian

woman, without whom socialism cannot be conceived or its construction carried forward. Colossal changes have been made in the life of the Albanian woman, but there are still many problems which remain to be solved, especially in the field of complete equality between man and woman in social and family life, and in their educational, cultural and technical-professional levels.

The women of our country have made a valuable contribution to the fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the 7th Congress of the Party. They and their organization, the Women's Union of Albania, must fight to uphold and further develop the spirit of emancipation amongst the mass of women themselves and in society as a whole, so that the role of the woman, as an active builder of socialism, a staunch defender of the Homeland, a careful mother and educator of the younger generation, is steadily enhanced. The women's organization must pay special attention to the strengthening of the family and to the complexity of family relations, to the problems of mother and child, the way of life, etc., fighting hard against all alien manifestations and backward customs which still linger on and appear in various forms and instances, and which infringe the dignity and personality of women.

The Democratic Front of Albania has done great work to strengthen the unity of the people around the Party and for the patriotic education and mobilization of the working people to fulfil

the tasks of the state plan, especially in the countryside. In the future, too, this mass organization, with traditions and authority, must fight to ensure that the political, ideological and moral unity of the people is constantly steeled, and that the active role of the masses in the construction and defence of socialism, in governing the country, in strengthening the social control and in the development of socialist democracy, is enhanced.

The war and labour veterans, the pensioners, who are increasing year by year, are another great force for whom our Party and state have always displayed special care. They enjoy the respect of the entire society for the war they fought and the work they have done, and for the valuable contribution they have made. But many of them still have strength and energy which they could and should employ in useful social work, especially for the education of the younger generation with the rich traditions of the war and the heroic work of the Party and the people, as well as for the preservation, development and perpetuation of these traditions.

III

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The all-round education of the new man has been and remains a fundamental question in the activity of the Party in order to carry the construction of socialist society consistently forward. This education has been carried out on a broad front, closely linked with the tasks of each stage of development, with the problems which life has raised, and the concrete situations. This has always ensured the active character, the great mobilizing and transforming force of the educational work of the Party and its levers.

The conditions in which we are working and fighting for the construction and defence of socialism, as well as the tasks which we are putting forward in this Congress for the socio-economic development of the country, require that the educational work of the Party be raised to a higher

level and concentrated better on certain current and future main problems, in order to create deep Marxist-Leninist convictions among the people, to raise their professional skills, to equip them with broad culture and pure moral virtues.

1. The Communist Education of the Working People — the Basis of Our Successes

Albania is the country in which socialism is being built with success and which remains firmly on the rails of Marxism-Leninism, in which the development of the economy and culture, the organization and leadership of the Party and the state, the formation and tempering of the new man, are carried out on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. The road which our country has traversed has not been easy. Our Party and people have had to cope with many difficulties, to press onwards over roads known and unknown, over new, untrodden paths.

The boundless loyalty of our Party to the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, its ability to apply this doctrine in a creative manner, in conformity with the conditions of the country and the complicated international circumstances, its determination to defend the purity of the principles of this doctrine from the attacks and distortions of many enemies, internal and external, have

been and remain the fundamental basis of all the successes and victories of our people.

The whole preoccupation of the Party has been to ensure that every step on the road of the revolution and the construction of socialism should be well considered, that the foundations of the new socialist society should be such as to guarantee its ceaseless development towards progress, and that the waves and storms of the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement should be faced and overcome. This is why the revolution and the socialist construction in our country have known no zigzags and reverses, but have gone consistently ahead and have always scored victories.

The example of Albania is a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat and constitutes a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The communists, the cadres, the working people, and the younger generation, in particular, must be thoroughly acquainted with the road of the development of our country towards socialism and communism, should be as clear as possible about where we started from and what road we have travelled, what difficulties have been surmounted, what line the Party has pursued and implemented and what are the foundations of this society which has been built with the blood, sweat and toil of our heroic people.

Knowing this glorious road and rich experience, our people will have a broader view of socialist society, of its present stage and its future, and will work with greater consciousness and unshakable conviction to consolidate the victories of socialism more and more and carry them steadily forward. The Party must see this as a capital question, because the stronger the foundations of the present, the more secure the socialist and communist future of our country will be.

The strengthening of convictions about socialism, about its vitality and superiorities, assumes special importance in the present conditions when socialism has been undermined in many countries and when the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have launched a frenzied campaign against socialism in order to disparage the revolutionary ideals, to sow the seed of doubt and uncertainty about the socialist future of mankind. It is no accident that the spearhead of this struggle has been aimed against our triumphant doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, without which there is and can be no genuine socialism.

Likewise, we must always take into account that the conditions in which socialism is being built in Albania are very complex. Our Party, state and people are fighting single-handed, face to face against a colossal enemy force, against the capitalist and revisionist world which encircles us. Our people must never underrate or forget the dangers

with which our socialist society is threatened from the great, all-round political, economic, ideological and military pressure of this world.

Our historic duty, national and international, is to be always on the alert, vigilant and ready to cope with any situation, to defend the victories achieved and to press on with the revolution and our socialist construction. We must counter the dangerous diversionist activity of the enemies of socialism with our determination and courage, with the steel unity of the Party and the people, with untiring work to develop and strengthen the economy and the defence of the country. Above all, in order to defend socialism and ensure that it always forges confidently ahead, it is essential to continuously strengthen the healthy and profound convictions about socialism, as the highest social order to which the future inevitably belongs.

Our people, living and working in a socialist society, are educated with its norms and principles, which are embodied in the economic and social relations, in the organization and running of the state and the entire life of the country, in the legislation and the way of life, in the system of education and culture, etc. Our socialist reality itself, together with the direct participation of people in the work of the socialist construction of the country, educates them and helps them to understand and assimilate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

However, socialist convictions and consciousness, which are created in practical life, are inadequate to enable people to find their bearings correctly in any situation, to understand the policy of the Party profoundly and to act always with clear objectives. Such convictions may be shaken in the face of the various difficulties of the socialist construction or the great pressure from the capitalist-revisionist world, if they are not based on solid theoretical foundations. Only Marxism-Leninism, which is the theoretical base of scientific socialism and the communist education of the working people, creates profound, lasting convictions. The Party imbues the masses with such convictions through its educational work.

Our Party has always done a great deal of work for the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses. The Party School, the various courses and forms of education within the Party and the mass organizations, the publications, the press and all the other means of propaganda, serve this aim. Marxism-Leninism is studied systematically in the various categories of schools of our state education system. The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as many documents and materials of our Party, have been made available to the communists, cadres and working people.

The task now is that all this work should be done at a higher, more qualified level, with the

aim that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party should be mastered as well and as thoroughly as possible. The main thing is that our people should be properly armed ideologically with the Marxist world outlook and methodology, should be properly formed from the theoretical viewpoint, so that they stand and act consciously, at all times and in any circumstances, as consistent revolutionaries, as determined fighters for the cause of socialism and communism, and not be taught only some Marxist theses and conclusions.

Our Party and people have to advance continuously, to solve new problems. The theoretical working out and the practical solution of these problems require that creative thinking should be developed continuously, relying on the basic Marxist principles and methodology, as well as on the summing up of the experience gained. For this reason it is necessary that in schools and the system of the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses, and in all the propaganda of the Party, Marxism-Leninism should be studied, propagated and mastered as a living and creative doctrine, as a science which is being continuously developed and enriched. The spirit of revolutionary criticism should be developed everywhere, fruitful debate and discussion should be aroused, any manifestation of rigidity and dogmatism should be combated, the way should be opened wide to advanced thinking in the party spirit, everything should be

subjected to penetrating Marxist analysis and sound Marxist logic.

Theoretical uplift is an indispensable condition to combat manifestations of empiricism and practicism. The fact is that there are communists and cadres who make little effort to master theory, who have a narrow understanding of the problems and tasks which are presented and the directives and orientations which are given, who see them in a simplistic manner and do not go deeply into their ideo-political content, into their theoretical aspect. On this question, what Stalin said,

«...the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state or Party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether.»¹

always remains valid.

¹ J.V. Stalin. Selected Works, pp. 509-510, Tirana 1979, Alb. ed.

The shortcomings in the general theoretical formation also lead inevitably to subjective and volitive concepts and actions which are contrary to the requirements of objective laws, violate the scientific management of affairs, impede and distort the processes of socio-economic development and harm the education of people. We come across such manifestations on many occasions, but they are more obvious and harmful especially in the planning, organization and the management of the economy.

It is true that socialist society is a society which is built in a conscious manner, but this is not done according to the subjective will and desires of people. In socialism, too, development takes place according to laws which have an objective character. The peculiarity of socialism lies in the recognition and conscious implementation of these laws in conformity with the aims of the Party and the socialist state. Herein lies one of the great superiorities of the socialist order, which ensures harmonious and rapid development of the economy and culture in favour of the working masses.

Hence, the task emerges that the attention of the educational work of the Party, the state, the mass organizations and all the means of propaganda should be centred on ensuring knowledge of the objective economic laws of socialism, on which the economic policy of the Party is based. Through profound knowledge of the objective laws and acting

in conformity with their requirements, manifestations of subjectivism can be avoided, the great superiorities of the socialist order can be utilized, and the planning and management of the economy and the education of people can be put on a scientific basis.

It is a recognized fact that the man, with his conscience, abilities and experience is the decisive factor in any work, in the fulfilment of any task. That is why the Party gives first-rate importance to the work with people for their continuous education, tempering and the development of their abilities. However, the activity of people is successful and can attain the objectives set, when, apart from the educational work, it is properly supported with economic, organizational and administrative measures. Those instances when problems are treated in a one-sided way, when the causes of shortcomings and weaknesses are sought only in the ideo-political work or in the method and style of leadership, when it is thought that the state of affairs can be changed and improved with words and meetings, without concrete actions and measures, are manifestations of subjectivism.

The social sciences have a great role in raising the level of the party propaganda and all the work for the education of the masses in the spirit of socialism. Only on the basis of scientific studies and generalizations of the experience of the Party and the masses and the problems raised by life, can the

work with people be supported with sound arguments and result in profound conviction.

Our social sciences have made progress and have developed on the right road. With their studies and publications they have made valuable contributions in the field of the study of the history of our people and their culture, the experience of the National Liberation War and the socialist transformations, and the political, economic and social life of the country. Very valuable work has been done by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies of the Central Committee in compiling the History of the Party, in the publication of the many materials and documents of the Party, and in the study of various problems of the revolution and socialist construction.

It is the duty of the scientific institutions, the departments of the higher schools and all the cadres engaged in social sciences to raise their work to a new level, to go more deeply into the fundamental problems of the experience and perspective of the development of our country, to elaborate them at a high theoretical and scientific level and to militate more actively in the struggle of the Party for the education of the new man.

A correct understanding of the decisive role of the masses in the construction of socialist society is fundamental to the communist world outlook and revolutionary theory and practice. Our Party has permitted no deviation from this principle and this is one of the underlying reasons why socialism has

been built in the right way and is developing successfully in Albania.

As the experience of our country has confirmed, the active participation of the masses in running the country and in the whole of social life constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the preservation and strengthening of the people's state power, for ceaselessly carrying forward the socialist revolution and for ensuring a strong and impregnable defence of the Homeland.

The decisive, ever increasing role of the popular masses in our socialist society is the most profound expression and the fundamental direction of the development of our socialist democracy. From this standpoint, our socialist democracy is not only an historic victory of the masses of the people, won in war and revolution, but also a need, an indispensable condition, an intrinsic law of the development of our socialist society, a great motive force which carries it forward.

Socialism has freed our people from any form of the exploitation of man by man. A great historic victory is the liberation of the conscience of the working people from the spiritual shackles of exploiting societies, the emancipation of the woman, who has become an equal participant with man in our social life. Our people enjoy great democratic rights and freedoms, such as the right to work, to education, to elect and be elected to state and social functions, the freedom of speech, of the press, etc.,

which in our country are a reality, not only proclaimed by law but also applied in daily practice. The entire life of our country, the organization and management of the state, the economy, education, culture and defence, has been constructed in such a way as to ensure and require the active participation of the working masses.

The dangers which threaten socialism from the separation of the state organs and cadres from the masses, from the development of bureaucracy in the apparatuses, etc., have long been made clear by the Party. It has stressed that the struggle against such manifestations and distortions must be waged continuously, without allowing them to build up and become firmly established. In practice, however, manifestations of one-sidedness and formalism are encountered in the understanding and implementation of the democracy of the masses and the relations of cadres with the masses. There are instances when the administrative organs place themselves above the elected organs, when certain cadres do not maintain close contacts with the people or consult them only formally. Sometimes the assemblies of the agricultural cooperatives and other organizations of the masses are not taken into account at all or insufficiently taken into account, sometimes the norms established about rendering account to the masses, not only by the elected cadres but also by the appointed cadres, are not respected, and so on.

It is the duty of the Party propaganda to explain and prove with profound arguments that the role of the masses is not an abstract question, that it is realized through the daily activity of the collectives, the Trade-Unions, the youth organization, the Front, the organization of women, the people's councils and all the elected organs. In particular, the Party propaganda must ensure that the cadres, especially, have a political and ideological understanding of the need for direct links with the masses, with the workers, with the cooperativists, with the youth, with the women, with all sections of the population. They must consult wide circles of the people, seek their opinions, put before the masses the problems which preoccupy the Party and the state and, together with the masses, find the most rational solutions.

When the Party raises forcefully that the voice of the specialists should be listened to more attentively, that their qualified opinion should be backed up and supported better in order to place production on scientific foundations, this must in no way lead to underrating the advanced ideas of the masses and their rich revolutionary experience. The technical-scientific revolution in our country can be developed with success only when the intellectual and scientific potential of the cadres and specialists is closely linked and merged with the struggle and all-sided experience of the masses.

In the implementation of the line of the mas-

ses any simplification and formal treatment of it must be avoided. It is impermissible to overwhelm people with fruitless meetings over trifling matters allegedly in the name of the implementation of the line of the masses. Meetings at which the problems causing concern are not solved, which do not arrive at concrete conclusions about measures to change the situation, have no value at all. Likewise, it is impermissible that the line of the masses should be used as a smokescreen to cover up lack of responsibility, shortcomings in the organization and direction of work, and failure to exercise competences and apply the laws and rules established.

Enlivenment and activation of the control by the masses from below, including the groups of direct worker and peasant control, which should be centred more on the control over the administration of socialist property, the activity of administrative organs, as well as in the field of services for the people and the fulfilment of their needs, must be the object of continuous attention from the Party and the organizations of the masses.

It is particularly important to understand properly that the control by the masses from below must not be limited and must not be reduced to just one form of it, that of the groups of the worker and peasant control; it must be exercised much more extensively and in the most varied forms, by rousing the broad masses of the working people and inculcating in them the idea that they are the

masters of the country, who must have their say about everything and everyone. At the same time, the Party has stressed that the groups of the worker and peasant control cannot and must not replace the control by the party organizations, the state organs or the organizations of the masses.

There is a need for understanding and implementing socialist democracy and the role of the masses, but also for more profound study of them, so that they are constantly perfected. The aim is to ensure that the process of the construction of socialism is never transformed into a bureaucratic-administrative process, but is always a living, creative work of the broad working masses, under the leadership of the Party.

The education of the new man is one of the greatest victories of socialism and one of the fundamental guarantees for its uninterrupted development. The historic tasks with which our Party and people are faced for the socialist construction of the country and coping successfully with the encirclement and pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world, require people formed and tempered as consistent revolutionaries, equipped to a higher level with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and ethics, who must be able to withstand the pressure from the ideologies of exploiting classes. This requires more thorough-going ideological struggle against any alien remnant or manifestation in the consciousness of our people.

The struggle against the petty-bourgeois mentality and outlook, which has deep roots in our country, has been and remains a major ideological problem. It is true that the great social-economic transformations which have been carried out, as well as the all-round work of the Party for the communist education of the working people, have dealt heavy blows to the petty-bourgeois psychology and shaken it to its foundations. Nevertheless, although its sphere of operation has been drastically reduced, we still encounter petty-bourgeois outlooks, attitudes and actions among various strata of the population. The petty-bourgeois concepts and tendencies are a great evil, because they not only hamper the communist education of the people, not only inhibit their active participation in the socialist construction of the country, but also become the cause of all sorts of vacillations, serve as the basis for the spread of the bourgeois ideology and for undermining the socialist order itself.

The petty-bourgeois psychology manifests itself in various forms and in many fields. The remnants of it are most marked in the attitude towards work and property, which occupies the main and decisive place in people's activity.

A high level of consciousness in their attitude towards work and socialist property characterizes our working people in town and countryside. This is a distinguishing feature of our new man and is a reality which stands out everywhere. However,

socialism, as the initial phase of communist society, which emerges from the exploiting capitalist order, has its own conditions and peculiarities of development, which leave their mark also on the attitude towards work and property. Socialism, said Lenin,

«...cannot as yet be fully mature from the economic viewpoint, and entirely free from the traditions and vestiges of capitalism.»¹

On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind also the large masses of young people who are to enter social production and other sectors and who, despite their readiness and enthusiasm to work and create on behalf of socialism, still have not formed the habits of work and not been hardened to withstand the difficulties of life.

These factors, as well as the weaknesses in the work of leadership, organization and education by the organizations of the Party and those of the masses, the organs of the state and the economy, account for the alien attitudes towards work and socialist property, which are seen.

At a time when we have many advanced examples and positive achievements, cases of breaches of discipline at work, absenteeism, work with low productivity and poor quality, failure to use productive capacities to the full, damage to and misuse

¹ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 559, Alb. ed.

of the common property, carelessness in its administration and protection, are far from rare.

These are the reasons why the Party insists on the need to raise the level and the effectiveness of propaganda and ideological work, so that the socialist consciousness of the workers, the cooperativists, the cadres in their attitude towards work and property is strengthened and raised to a higher level. This has been and must continue to be one of the most important fronts in the work of the Party, the state organs and mass organizations, especially in the work of the trade-unions.

The measures which the Party and the state have taken for perfecting the socialist relations of production, for the further reduction of cooperativists' personal plot, the improvement of the pay system, legislation, the planning and management of the economy, etc., have created new possibilities and conditions to engage in more extensive and thorough-going educational work among the working masses in order to imbue them with correct concepts and attitudes towards work and property, to create an atmosphere of revolutionary optimism and mobilization in work everywhere.

The communists, the cadres and the working people must be made conscious that we are living in new situations at home and abroad, which give rise to new tasks and demands. A mighty task facing us is the need to mobilize all the working

people to fulfil the tasks of the plan to the letter. The situations we are going through and the great objectives of this five-year plan demand a new rhythm and commitment in work, a higher sense of responsibility and greater persistence, demand that we advance at a more rapid pace, the pace the time demands.

The educational work of the Party must implant deep-rooted convictions that work and the socialist property are two great pillars on which the development of the economy, the entire life of the country, its present and future, are based. In this field an organized struggle must be waged on all fronts against negative manifestations, against any petty-bourgeois or liberal concept and stand, in order to strengthen the spirit of organization, order and discipline everywhere.

The tasks for the strengthening of the socialist consciousness and psychology demand that greater attention should be paid to knowing the various interests which exist and operate in our society and to maintaining correct relations among them. Engels pointed out that the economic relations in any society present themselves, first of all, as interests. Therefore, neither the application of the requirements of the economic laws, nor the strengthening of the socialist attitude towards work and property can be understood and achieved apart from different interests, and above all, apart from economic interests.

The placing of the general interest above the interests of the group and the individual, the interests of the future above those of the moment, the fundamental interests of the state above departmental and local interests, has run right through all the activity of our Party and state for the construction and the defence of socialism. This remains the guarantee that we shall always continue to advance on the right Marxist-Leninist course, permitting no deviations from the theory and practice of the construction of socialism.

In many cases, however, personal interest is still a very compelling force, and this is expressed in the tendencies to take from society more than one contributes, to pursue quantity to the detriment of quality, etc.

There is no doubt that the existence of various distinctions, such as those between town and countryside, the differences in incomes between members of our society, as well as the discrepancies which emerge between the growing demands of the working masses and the real possibilities for their fulfilment, have their influence in keeping such phenomena alive. But these factors cannot justify the various manifestations of placing personal interest above the general interest. In our socialist society all the possibilities exist to reduce the alien phenomena more and more through strengthening the educational work among the masses, developing production and perfecting the econ-

omic relations and the rigorous implementation of the laws of the state.

This is linked, first of all, with the fact that in socialism the general interest is not contrary to the personal interests of the working people. When we speak about the priority of the general interest, this by no means implies that personal interests are ignored. In socialism the general interest is realized not as an aim in itself, but in order to serve the fulfilment of the legitimate needs of the working people, the well-being of the people and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland. The line of the Party is applied correctly and consistently when the preoccupation with economic problems and the care for the general interest are never divorced from concern about the individual, from care to fulfil his material and spiritual demands.

A major problem, not only economic, but also ideological and social, is the harmonization of the interests of the cooperativist property fairly with the general interest of society. The Party must combat both the tendencies, which are sometimes seen, to isolation within the framework of the interests of the group, regarding them as something divorced from the interests of society as a whole, and those, which allegedly on behalf of the general interest, harm the interests of the cooperative.

This problem has to do with the relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives, as

well as with the process of the transformation of the property of the group into property of the entire people. The cooperativist property is of the same type as the state property. Both are socialist property, but the property of the group is a lower stage of the socialization of property. Through wide-ranging and well-considered educational work the Party must make clear to the cooperativist peasantry the transitional character of the property of the group, as well as the ways for its transformation into property of the entire people. In our country, the process of the transformation of the property of the group into property of the entire society has begun and will be accelerated in the future. However, we must proceed on this course step by step, as the objective and subjective conditions are created, taking into account and respecting the interests stemming from the property of the group.

The propaganda of the Party must deal more extensively and profoundly with the unified character of our economy and the factors which strengthen this character. In this context it is necessary to wage a determined struggle against the pursuit of narrow departmental, local or enterprise interests. The obstacles raised to the specialization, concentration and cooperation of production, as well as the cases of keeping something in reserve in the planning of production, productivity and reduction of costs, or the exaggerated demands for investments, la-

bour forces; etc., are manifestations of narrow interests, which impede the development of the economy and harm the general interests of the state and society.

In the conditions when the new has become dominant in our country, the phenomena of petty-bourgeois psychology, the remnants from the past, become more and more discordant and constitute a serious obstacle to our socialist course.

The peculiarity of these remnants is that they are extremely resistant and continue to exist even though the conditions which gave birth to them have been completely changed; they assume «new» forms, camouflage themselves under socialist norms and revive wherever they find suitable terrain. Certain outdated customs and practices, in particular, should attract our attention, because although they have been hard hit, they still crop up in the way of life, in family relations, in the stand towards women, etc. The Party and its levers must work to strengthen and consolidate the socialist principles and concepts, the proletarian ideology and morality, and to ensure that the spirit of great ideological actions and movements of the masses, based on the struggle to eradicate all the old hangovers and affirm the new socialist norms and customs, is always kept ablaze. This struggle must be waged with wisdom and intelligence, so that the new norms and concepts become acceptable to the conscience of all.

To this end, it is necessary to have a profound knowledge of the psychology of the masses, to carry out qualified educational work, differentiated according to the various strata and regions, types and places of work, collectives and sectors, age-groups and sexes, right down to separate individuals. A thorough knowledge of the spiritual state of the masses cannot be gained in an empirical manner, but on the basis of profound systematic studies, analysing the problem in all its many aspects, in its present state and in the dynamics of its development, taking into account the whole complex of different factors which influence the formation of the consciousness and psychology of the masses, such as the material conditions, the old traditions and customs, the development of education and culture, the external capitalist-revisionist world, etc.

In our struggle on the ideological front we should never for a moment forget that the remnants of the past are intertwined with the degenerating influences of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, which, although advertised as «modern» or «progressive», in essence, are just as old, if not older, and extremely dangerous.

Wide-ranging ideological aggression, intended to denigrate the reality of socialist Albania and corrupt people's minds, is being directed against our country. The Party and its levers must become powerful, insuperable barriers to this aggression and

its influence on our people. They must temper the ideological unity of the people and increase their vigilance and struggle against liberalism and all alien manifestations, so that no breaches, no situations of relaxation or euphoria are permitted, so that the communists, the cadres and all the working people always uphold the socialist principles and norms, the proletarian ideology and morality.

The struggle for the communist education of the working people against the remnants and manifestations of alien ideologies, old and new, constitutes the broadest and most complex front of the class struggle which is going on in our country. This struggle becomes especially important and acute in the present conditions when our country is forging ahead in the construction of socialism, relying entirely on its own forces, when the struggle between socialism and capitalism, Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in the international arena has become extremely severe and when the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its pressure on our country have become more ferocious.

The Party must work untiringly to ensure that the communists, the people and the younger generations are educated continuously in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, are always vigilant and ready to defend socialism from any enemy or danger, and struggle in their own conscience, in the ranks of the Party

and among the people, against everything which runs counter to the spirit and principles of socialism.

To wage the class struggle correctly means to apply the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party correctly, to accept the principles of socialism consciously and with profound conviction, and to work and fight at all times for the good of the people and the Homeland, to safeguard and defend socialism. This means, also, that this struggle must be waged without allowing opportunist or sectarian deviations to the right or the left, which are equally dangerous and fraught with grave consequences for the Party, the unity of the people and socialist society.

Only by waging the class struggle correctly and without deviations, with the large-scale participation of the working masses led by the Party, will the present be built correctly and always rest on sound foundations, and the future of the Homeland and socialism be secure.

The Party has set up an entire system of means of mass communication, such as the press, publications, the radio and television, films, etc., in the service of the education of the party members, cadres and masses. Their role is great, therefore they must continuously raise the level of their work, both in content and form, in order to respond ever better to the growing demands of the working masses.

2. Socialism Needs People with Broad Culture and Scientific Knowledge

In our country a true revolution has taken place in the cultural and professional level of the working masses. In a country in which about 90 per cent of the population was illiterate before Liberation, today more than 67 per cent of the workers have 8-year and secondary training and 32 per cent of them have secondary and high vocational training; about 52.3 per cent of the cooperativists has 8-year and secondary training. Today we have about 47,500 cadres with higher training and about 131,500 with secondary and vocational training. Nevertheless, the raising of the educational, cultural and technical-vocational level of the working people, as an inseparable part of the communist education, remains one of the important directions of the activity of the Party and the state.

The intensive development of the economy and culture, the ever more extensive introduction of advanced equipment and technology, the targets set for higher productivity and quality, greater profitability and efficiency of production, the prospects of the whole development of the country in the future, demand the further raising of the educational and cultural level, the mastering of science and technology by our people.

The task of the Party is to create in everyone

a correct understanding about the need our society has for people with learning, with broad cultural horizons and a high professional, technical and scientific level, to educate the working people to to be exacting towards themselves. Our cadres and working people must be characterized by the sense of the progressive new, the innovative spirit, the ardour and will to study and learn continuously.

The main centre for the assimilation of culture, knowledge and science is our new school. The great action for the further revolutionization of our socialist school, which has been going on during the recent 15 years, is being carried out with success. All the new fundamental structures of this process have now been stabilized. A large amount of valuable work has been done to compile and put into practice the new teaching programs, especially to compile new text-books of all categories.

Great efforts have been made to strengthen the ideological and scientific content of our school in its three components, to establish a more rational structure of the ways of transmitting knowledge, to encourage an active and creative attitude of the pupils and students towards their lessons, etc. All this has resulted in our school producing whole contingents of pupils and students with better, more all-sided formation, more developed ideologically and with greater vocational abilities.

Great successes have been achieved in assuring mass participation in all parts of our school system.

In general, the overwhelming majority of the urgent needs for the quantitative development of education can be considered solved, or well on the way to their final solution. We now have an education system capable of coping with the present and future requirements in all fields.

Now the time has come for all the forces of our education and teaching front to concentrate more seriously and in a more qualified way on raising the quality of the work of the school, without neglecting constant care to further increase the mass participation in education in general, and especially in certain of its links. This need is dictated not only by the specific internal development of education, the school and pedagogy, but in the first place, by the general economic, social, scientific and technical development of the entire life of the country.

Our school must equip the younger generation with knowledge of the contemporary level. In our time, the system of knowledge is undergoing continued and large-scale renewal. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, etc., which constitute the theoretical foundation of the applied disciplines of technique and technology, are developing very rapidly. The time between the scientific discovery and its application in productive activity has been very greatly reduced. Therefore, the problem of more quickly reflecting new achievements in the school programs has become very acute. Instead of a me-

chanical addition to the volume of knowledge, to make room for the essential new scientific information, changes must be made in the conceptual apparatus, and this information must be rearranged in more compact and more universal structures, which greatly increase its density and appreciably extend the field of its application.

Before our school, at all its levels, lies the task of eliminating a certain traditionalism in the presentation of the basic scientific disciplines, which has now become outdated. This is a serious task which must never be solved through patching or grafting the new on to the old, but on the basis of a complete, unified concept which extends over all the years of schooling, especially in the mass links of our education system. The studies of these problems must be done carefully and well considered, so that timely preparations can be made for the eventual changes, in order to prevent every element of improvisation in the decisions which will be taken about them, and so that the didactic procedures can be worked out in greater detail, in conformity with our ideological, scientific and pedagogical criteria.

The competent organs must seriously study the work-load of lessons for pupils and students, because in reality they are over-burdened, and this is to the detriment of their formation. The sources of this are the lack of proper co-ordination of the burdens of the individual subjects of the teaching

plan, a tendency of the school to monopolize and duplicate the giving of information, which is obtained today through other channels, unjustified demands to assimilate concepts and ideas beyond the perceptive powers of the given age-group, etc. Special care should be paid, in particular, to the elaboration, at different levels, of the way to handle disciplines of a purely ideological character, because one sees a more or less unified treatment of them, without the necessary gradation according to age-groups.

The further strengthening of the linking of lessons with life, with practice, and with productive labour helps more to bring about an all-round improvement in the quality and productivity of the work of teaching and education in the school, from the view-point not only of the education and tempering of the new generation, in which we have achieved considerable successes, but also of the integration of education and science with today's modern production, so that they serve the extension and deepening of the technical-scientific revolution better. It must always be kept in mind that the present-day youth, who are receiving an ever more solid education, are a vanguard force in carrying out this revolution, and will be even more so in the future.

The all-round qualitative strengthening and the raising of the scientific level, productivity and efficacy of the whole teaching and educational

process requires that greater efforts must be made for the radical improvement of the teaching methods, so that the active assimilation of lasting knowledge is increased, so that creative thought is encouraged and the habits of independent work are inculcated in the pupils and students right from their school days. In this context, it is necessary that concrete measures should be taken to extend the material and laboratory base of the schools.

Our production, which already has a very wide range of activities, will be enriched with new activities in the future. One of its main pillars is the great army of middle technicians and skilled workers. Hence, special importance must be given to the vocational secondary schools, both full-time and part-time, which provide 80 per cent of the country's secondary schooling. These schools, especially the part-time ones and those of an agricultural profile, must be fully consolidated. The task they face is to ensure that they do not see the theoretical development of the pupils simply as a means which allows the latter to continue higher schooling more easily, but harmonize it with and make it serve more effectively the function of vocational training in the respective field. The link which must be grasped is the formation of practical abilities and technical intuition, on the basis of a broader theoretical horizon.

Great care must be shown for the training

of higher specialists. They must be able to cope with their tasks with complete competence and, at the same time, have a scientific imagination, without which they cannot carry forward the technical-scientific revolution in the sectors where they work. Routine work must and will occupy less and less of their time, while activity on studies in pure science and invention must become a fundamental preoccupation of the higher specialists.

It is the duty of the University and the other higher schools to cultivate these qualities in the students, by setting their entire intellectual capacities in motion and insisting more strongly on the creative aspect of the teaching-educational process. To achieve this the teachers of the higher schools must be deeply involved in research work, because only a researcher pursues the subject he teaches with interest and is able to present it in the auditorium with real passion.

The extension of scientific work in the higher schools, ensuring that it deals not with minor themes, but with major problems of the economy, production, defence and culture, becomes indispensable, also, for the extension and intensification of post-university scientific qualification. The qualification of cadres and higher specialists is a question in which the entire society is interested. It is necessary for society that the cadres constantly enrich their knowledge, know the new developments

of science and technique, learn and become more qualified in individual forms, but organized and controlled. The building of this new link of the education system requires a great deal of responsible work from the higher schools and the Ministry of Education and Culture, as well as all-round aid and close interest from all the other government departments.

Our education is undergoing a process of consolidation of the great successes of its revolutionization. The continuous improvement of the whole great complex of measures, which comprise the essence of the further revolutionization of the school, remains a permanent task for us. These measures are verified by revolutionary practice, which teaches us to correct the inaccuracies, to eliminate the defects and to fill the gaps. Many things have been corrected in the dynamic process of the progress of our school, but the development of the life of the country and education itself give rise to new problems which must be carefully studied in all their complexity and then the necessary appropriate measures must be taken to solve them.

The teachers have a decisive role in carrying out all these tasks facing the school. They must work harder to raise their ideological and professional level, to extend their general scientific and cultural horizons and increase their mastery of the science of teaching. Any formalism in the assessment of their work, the spirit of liberalism and

being satisfied with little, must be combated. It must be clear to all that the school requires toil and sweat, requires passion and will, and a high level of consciousness and discipline.

In strengthening the work of the school, sound social opinion carries great weight. It can assist greatly in the daily activity of the school. The cultivation in the school youth of healthy motives for learning, motives based on revolutionary ideals, is especially important.

The all-round improvement of the work in the people's education dictates the need to improve and further revolutionize the method and style of the leading work of all the organs of the education, from the school directory up to the Ministry of Education and Culture. This requires the raising of the scientific level of the work of guidance, the solution, on a more highly qualified scientific basis, of complex problems of the further development of the people's education and the further revolutionization of the school.

For their part, the ministries and the other institutions, too, must become more involved in the training of middle and higher cadres and specialists, correctly define the demands for their numbers and profiles, engage seriously in the drafting of school plans, programs and text-books and give attention to organizing the productive labour of the pupils and students and their probation period in production better.

During the 6th Five-year Plan our socialist arts and culture assumed further development, and their role in all the work, which the Party does for the communist education of the working masses, was raised to a higher level. Evident progress was made in strengthening the content and raising the quality of cultural and artistic activity. The main distinctive feature in all this activity is proletarian partisanship and revolutionary militancy. Thus, it exerted greater influence on the consolidation of the world outlook of our new man and his education with proletarian tastes and the norms of the socialist way of life.

Worthy works of ideo-artistic value have been created in literature, the figurative arts, music and cinematography. They have always been based on the fundamental principles of socialist realism. It is a particular merit of our creative artists that, along with the socialist content, they have struggled to bring out strongly the national originality and the popular spirit in their works, by basing themselves firmly on our soundest literary and artistic traditions, enriching them with new research and innovative solutions, and combating any conservative or liberal stand, any pressure of the degenerate bourgeois and revisionist culture.

Our literature and arts have also achieved important successes in their acceptance by the international public. Our books, films, ensembles of songs and dances, and exhibitions of figurative arts have

increasingly attracted attention and won appreciation from progressive people who have found in them, along with advanced ideas, a sound realist, democratic and humanist spirit in opposition to the decadent and reactionary spirit of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist art.

Our country has been transformed into a great school in which everybody learns and works, beautifies the Homeland and makes it prosper. This has brought the people into an ever more active relationship with culture. Our people take part actively in the creation of the values of material and spiritual culture and in their continuous use. Herein lies one of the superiorities of our socialist system over the capitalist system.

Our socialist life gives our culture, literature and arts more vigour, more dynamism and freshness, enriching them in content and form. The connection with active life is the only means, the only way to disclose and affirm the lofty moral and political virtues and qualities, the successes and creative activity of people who work. Only in this way are the cultural values turned into a source to inspire and mobilize the masses to carry out the tasks in the fields of the construction and defence of the country, creating an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm to overcome difficulties and achieve new victories.

An important task of all our creative artists in literature, cinematography, figurative arts,

music, etc., is to take up the major problems of our days, the processes of the development and the new phenomena of our life and reflect them extensively in their works. Art and literature must describe and propagate those powerful motives, that mass heroism and those heroes who lead through their personal example in life, in work, in science, at school and everywhere. The extension of the range of themes of literature and art, including in them more and more of the vastness and variety of life, so that the great tableau of the socialist epoch in Albania is gradually completed by our writers and artists, is a demand of the time. The creation of this artistic testimony remains a basic task of our literature and arts.

The themes drawn from history and the periods of the past are and will always be valuable and indispensable for the education of our people with love for the Homeland, for the national traditions and culture, to make them better acquainted with the struggles of our people for freedom, independence and progress. But the development of literature and art is inconceivable without the broadest reflection of the great surge of life and present-day reality in the novels, poems, films and musical and figurative works. By basing themselves firmly on the reality in which we live, by reflecting it extensively, literature and the arts will also be able to reflect the past better, more correctly, and at a higher ideo-artistic level.

The struggle to strengthen the national character and originality of our art must always be accompanied by strengthening the socialist spirit which sets the tone for our entire life. The affirmation of that which is socialist is an objective requirement for the consolidation of the art of socialist realism. In the reflection of the socialist reality, the national character, too, gains new qualitative features, is developed and raised to a new higher level.

The Party has stressed that the reliance of our arts on the folk art is an important factor in ensuring that the cultivated arts are healthy and retain their popular and national spirit. But a correct relationship must be maintained between cultivated and folk art, there should be no abuses, giving priority to one over the other, because just as the divorce of cultivated art from folk art is harmful, so putting them on an equal footing and turning cultivated art into a mere imitation of folk art is likewise harmful.

The reflection of the socialist reality and the more extensive handling of this theme, of the typical and fundamental problems of our society, are closely linked with raising the quality of our arts. An appropriate form and high level of artistic realization must respond to the sound content and the revolutionary themes. To take up the theme of the day, to write about the positive hero, the socialist reality, etc., is not enough. This alone,

without artistic skill, cannot arouse emotion, cannot educate or inspire you for the present and the future. The raising of the quality of the arts is a demand which stems from the rise in the cultural level and the aesthetic tastes of the broad masses of the working people and from the present conditions of the development of our society.

The great tasks which are put forward for the development of literature and art increase the need for the continuous development of the world outlook and culture of the creative forces, especially the new talents. The writers and artists create an art of lofty values when they have a profound knowledge of the life of the people, their history and psychology, when they master Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of the Party, when they live intensively with the problems of the time. In this direction the role of the League of Writers and Artists is a major one. It must always remain a centre of inspiration and education for the creative forces. The creativeness of the writers and artists, raising the content and quality of their works, should be the main object of its attention.

The other cultural and artistic institutions, too, such as the Radio and Television, the publishing houses and institutions, the theatres and the Film Studio have the duty to strengthen their control and raise their requirements for quality, in order

to give the people the best creative works. They must fight to avoid the superficial reflection of reality, lacking force and profound thought, the manifestations of schematism, uniformity and oversimplification of phenomena and problems of present-day life.

The tasks of the cultural-artistic institutions are many and all-sided. In their work to raise the cultural level of the masses, they must pay special attention to the more extensive dissemination of knowledge and learning of various kinds, to the better organization of technical and scientific information, the extension of the propaganda of production and advanced experience, ensuring wider collaboration with the organizations of the masses, with the specialists and cadres and the vanguard workers of production. Besides political and artistic books, more attention must be paid to the publication of technical and scientific books, manuals and encyclopaedias which can be widely used by different specialists, as well as popular scientific publications for mass use.

A genuine socialist country must become more and more outstanding for the high cultural level of its people and their rich spiritual world, sound aesthetic tastes and way of life. The formation of correct concepts about the socialist way of life is an important task of the school and the cultural and educational work which is carried out in our country.

It is important to establish widespread and profound understanding that the culture of living has to do with man throughout his entire life. It has to do with the way he eats, keeps himself clean and dresses, with his environment at home and at work. Culture, literature, and together with them, the environment of production and in the public services, have a direct influence on the formation of the tastes of the masses. They increase their interest in beauty at work, in life and in nature, strengthen the struggle both against bourgeois and revisionist tastes and against vulgar tastes.

New important tasks emerge especially for the dissemination of culture in the countryside. The further elevation of the cultural level of the peasantry directly influences the all-round progress of the countryside itself and the narrowing of the distinctions between it and the town. Besides the extension, strengthening and more effective utilization of the network of cultural institutions and the improvement in the composition of the cadres staffing them, the aid of the town, the activization of the intelligentsia and the care of the organizations of the masses, play an important role in the dissemination of culture in the countryside. The schools in the countryside, in particular, must be turned into real centres for the dissemination of mass culture and patriotic and revolutionary traditions, for the invigoration of artistic life and the education and training of new talents.

The development and progress of culture means the development and progress of the nation. There is a close dialectical interconnection between them. Engels has said that history shows that every new step forward on the road of culture has been a step towards freedom. It is important that this is understood profoundly by the organs of the Party and the state power at the base and by all the working people of the front of culture. The greater their understanding of the importance of cultural work, the more they will link themselves with the problems of this activity. The organization of the assistance and control by the organs of the Party and the state must be strengthened, in the first place, in regard to the problems of the leadership and planning, the content, the effectiveness and the educational values which the cultural and artistic activity brings.

Our new science also has made a special contribution to the great successes which our people have achieved in the socialist construction of the country. It has been extended to new, previously uncultivated fields, has raised the level of studies and is now in a position to undertake more difficult tasks and solve bigger problems, to respond better to the demands which the development of the economy and culture places before it.

Our people of science and technique today study, design and execute, relying completely on their own forces, all the projects which the economy

and defence need, such as the hydro-power projects, railways, deep wells, mineral enrichment plants and many other important industrial projects. Great underground assets, which now constitute the fundamental base for the development of industry and the entire economy of the country, have been discovered and exploited. Good progress has been made in the solution of many technical and technological problems of production. Now we have gone over from the production of spare parts to the production of complete sets of machinery. In the field of agriculture, studies and experiments have become important factors in the increase of yields and the improvement of breeds. There have been valuable achievements also in the historical, linguistic, economic, political and other social sciences.

But the stage reached in the development of the country and the great tasks which we have ahead of us make the development of science, its proper evaluation and the application of its achievements in production an urgent need. This need becomes even more imperative in the present conditions of the development of our country with our own forces alone, when the economy and all sectors of social activity have set out on the course of intensification and when work of high quality, productivity and efficiency is required everywhere.

It was for these reasons that the Party analysed all the scientific activity in our country at a special

plenum last year, drawing conclusions and defining specific tasks, not only for the working people of science, but also for all the organizations and committees of the Party and the state and economic organs of the country. The tasks which the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee set and the instructions it gave constitute a great program of work for the present and the future. Now all the work must be concentrated on the persistent struggle to put this program into practice.

The main objective of all the scientific study work is to give the 7th Five-year Plan the necessary support to ensure its complete fulfilment. Along with this, an important task and objective of our science is to begin immediately to carry out studies in regard to the next five-year plan. To be science, to really play its role and perform its function, science must precede production, must indicate in advance the future course of the development of economy and culture. Only on this basis can it aid both planning and production.

While keeping the present and future tasks well in mind, great attention must be paid to the assimilation of contemporary achievements and the study of those sciences which are applied in the fields of vital importance to us, on which the rapid progress of the country depends and which strengthen its complete independence.

The main forces and means must be concentrated on studying our natural assets and, in the

first place, in prospecting for and the discovery of useful minerals. Our science must find the best ways to increase the energy resources and use them rationally, to make the most complex and integral use possible of all the useful components of raw materials, to produce at the lowest possible cost and with the highest possible quality.

An important objective of the scientific work must be the extension of studies in the field of machine building, the perfecting of the technology of production and the mechanization of the work processes, in the field of the designing and construction of different industrial, hydro-technical, civic and other projects.

Of special importance are the studies in the field of agriculture, especially those which have to do with the protection, increase and improvement of the land, increase of the genetic capacities of seeds and breeds, the improvement of agro-technique and the protection of plants and animals.

Because of the conditions of our country we must persist in application. This is the field on which scientific research work must be concentrated, first of all. This is where the main scientific-technical forces must be engaged. This does not mean that the fundamental sciences, which are the theoretical foundation of the applied sciences and modern technique, should be neglected. The task laid down is that the advanced results and methods of these sciences must be known and mastered in

order to put them as fully as possible in the service of production and to secure a sound theoretical training for our specialists.

In all fields of science, but especially in the applied sciences, we must increase the quality and efficacy of scientific study work. Every study which is carried out must be complete, its different phases must comprise a single whole, starting from the general study, experimentation, designing, right through to application. The technical and technological studies must also be accompanied by economic-financial studies, in order to show the economic benefit and the cost-effectiveness of the proposals.

The deepening of the technical-scientific revolution in all fields has set great masses of people in motion, has encouraged real interest in mastering scientific knowledge more thoroughly and in conducting experiments. Above all it has strengthened the confidence of our cadres and working people in their own abilities and creative thinking. Along with the increase in the quantity and quality of rationalizations and innovations, the possibilities have now been created to go over gradually to a wider front of greater improvement and transformations, which will bring about more radical changes to the benefit of production, technical equipment, technological concepts or organizational forms, not only in individual workshops and factories, but also in entire branches. To this end, the active role and effectiveness of science must

be further increased, and it must not be developed only in the scientific-research institutions, but must be developed and applied extensively in the concrete terrain, in the plants, the combines, the fields, wherever material blessings are produced.

The progress of science is greatly dependent on its more accurate and far-sighted planning in conformity with the needs of the country in all the links of scientific-research work, on the proper organization and co-ordination of the activity of different institutions, on the setting up of a material and laboratory base appropriate to and possible for our country, on the preparation, continuous qualification and employment with high efficiency of specialists in different fields.

The Academy of Sciences remains the biggest and most important centre of scientific research in our country. The Party has set it the task that, along with the consolidation of its existing scientific institutions, it must extend its activity to other fields, too, especially those of the natural and technical sciences, which serve the solution of major problems of production more directly.

The creation this year of the Committee of Science and Technology is an important measure which the Party has taken to ensure better direction and organization of the scientific study work. Its task is to bring about better co-ordination of the entire scientific activity of the country and to help in the application of its results.

All the state organs, from the base to the centre, must display greater attention and care for the development of science. They must consider scientific activity as an integral component part of their work, for the planning, organization, and management of the economy, culture and the entire life of the country.

The development and progress of science can be assisted by keeping closer contact with the scientific activity and the people engaged in it, by seeking the opinion of the specialists, by supporting the new and combating the bureaucratic delays and hindrances which are sometimes encountered in the carrying out of studies and especially in applying their results in practice.

The fundamental concern of the work of the party organizations must be to ensure the implementation of the policy of the Party in the field of science, so that the research and study activity is concentrated on the major problems of the present and the future and the cadres of science are armed with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the teachings of the Party.

IV

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

The Party of Labour of Albania has always followed the development of international situations and the events which occur in the world with attention. It has analysed them in an objective and realistic manner, based, as always, on the Marxist-Leninist principles, and has drawn the respective conclusions. In all this work the Party has proceeded from the fact that the processes going on in the world today exert their influence, to this or that extent, on our country, too. We follow and analyse the international situations with particular interest, so that we are never taken by surprise, to ensure that we are always prepared to face up successfully to any danger which might come from abroad, and to build socialism with success. On the other hand, this also constitutes a condition for us to properly and effectively perform our internationalist duty in support of the peoples'

struggle for freedom and national independence, democracy and social progress, and to contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

Viewed as a whole, the present international situation is disturbed, complicated and very tense. Major political and social forces confront one another: on the one side, imperialism, capitalism and reaction, the bearers of oppression, exploitation and war, and on the other side, the peoples, the revolutionaries and the democrats, who are struggling for national and social liberation and the emancipation of mankind. This large-scale, profound and all-round confrontation, which is a reflection of stern class clashes and has included all the continents without exception, has further exacerbated all the contradictions and the grave crisis which has swept the capitalist world today. **Everything indicates that the present situation in the world could give rise to general and local wars, just as it may give rise to liberation wars and revolution.** The development of events will show whether imperialism will be able to lead the world to a new catastrophe or whether the peoples will prevent the war and save mankind.

In this situation, the peoples' war and the revolution are on the agenda, not only as aspirations and immediate tasks for liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist yoke, but also as historical necessities to defeat the war-

mongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war.

Imperialism has been and still is the source of all aggressions and predatory wars, the source of all the disasters and suffering which have existed and exist in the world. The peoples have paid the price of the insatiable greed of the imperialists for conquests and exploitation and for world domination with their blood and their lives. The struggle going on today among the imperialist superpowers and the big capitalist powers for markets and spheres of influence is further testimony of this unalterable character of the nature and aims of imperialism.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are contesting with one another, are competing and manoeuvring to carry out aggressions and occupy other countries. In many regions of the world the struggle between the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, not excluding imperialist China and other capitalist powers, has assumed new, major proportions. Each of these powers is striving to achieve economic, political and military superiority over the other and to capture new strategic positions. Although the flames of world war are not blazing yet, the local fires which have broken out and the dangerous hotbeds which have already been created may turn into a great conflagration of imperialist world war. The Middle East, and Indochina

once again, are very clear evidence of this. This rivalry, this superpower policy, further complicates the situations and leads to tension with dangerous consequences in all world relations.

Of course, while we observe that the rivalry between the superpowers and the sharpening of contradictions between them constitute the main source of present-day international conflicts and the danger of war, we cannot fail to notice also their efforts to reach compromises and agreements and even temporary alliances. The effort to come to terms to the detriment of the peoples has always been the response of imperialists to the tendency towards inter-imperialist clashes and conflicts.

However, an atmosphere of mutual trust can never exist between imperialist states. Due to their aggressive nature, they are bound to act against one another openly and secretly. This is the dialectic of relations between imperialists.

Up till now the superpowers have tried to preserve a certain equilibrium between themselves, to ensure respect for their mutual spheres of influence, and to keep pace with each other in the arms race. They have made efforts to avoid a direct war between them, but now, as a result of the crisis and unequal development, this equilibrium is tending to fall apart.

They can no longer find unoccupied spaces in which to extend their expansion. Any further step brings them into collision with the other's in-

terests and carries the danger of an unpredictable reaction. This gives rise to imbalance, to the dangers of armed confrontations which might lead mankind into a general imperialist war.

In the past, it became possible to conclude the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons, which ensured the United States of America and the Soviet Union the monopoly of these weapons, and even to sign the SALT agreement, which established the equilibrium of these superpowers in these weapons. Now the two sides have been caught up in the fevers of unrestrained armament, in which they have lost all sense and logic. The megalomania and arrogance of the superpowers, which think they can make the law and get away with it, is mingled with fear of each other and with the terror that the revolution strikes in them.

The interests of the superpowers and those of the peoples are not in accord and do not coincide at any time or in any instance. For imperialism to exist the peoples must be enslaved, for the peoples to be liberated imperialism must be destroyed.

That policy of reactionary classes which, to protect their own power and to deceive the masses, rely on one or the other imperialist state, presenting the one as good and the other as bad, the one as a supporter of the peoples and the other as their enemy, the one as the champion of peace and the other as a warmonger, is

very dangerous and must be fought to the end. The superpowers, individually and jointly, are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the protectors and guarantors of reactionary regimes, supporters of national bondage to foreigners and instigators of feuds and conflicts between nations. Their policy contains the direct danger that mankind is hurled into a third world war.

Therefore, now as in the past, the struggle of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces to expose and foil the predatory and enslaving plans of imperialist superpowers is an historic necessity, a condition and a duty for the defence of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples, for the triumph of the revolution, for averting the war and ensuring peace.

In one way or the other, in this or that form, all the peoples encounter the interference of and are threatened by the aggressive policy of American imperialism, which represents the greatest capitalist power of our time and the main defender of the bourgeois-imperialist system. From the end of the Second World War, when it emerged at the head of the imperialist powers and became the main pretender to world domination, to this day, American imperialism has caused the shedding of torrents of blood by the peoples it has attacked, either directly or by means of its obedient tools. In every counter-revolutionary process which has occurred

in the world, in every fascist putsch and overthrow of democracy, in every attack on the revolution and socialism, the hand of American imperialism has always been present. This is the imperialism which has made its interference in the internal affairs of other countries, its despotism and dictate, a normal practice in international life, and which has transformed aggression and the threat of aggression into its basic policy and a permanent form of its activity.

American capital is the greatest and most insatiable plunderer of the assets and toil of the peoples that history has ever known. The American capitalist companies, which have extended their tentacles all over the globe, violate the sovereignty of the nations in the most barbarous way and make the law in many countries. Together with the export of capital, American imperialism has also exported its way of life, corruption and degeneration, the spirit of decadent cosmopolitanism and servile submission to foreigners.

American imperialism has covered the globe with military bases, which are the main outposts for its war and aggression. It pursues the policy of strengthening the existing blocs and setting up new military blocs, by means of which it ensures its own domination over its partners, threatens to put down the revolution and the people's struggles with fire and steel, and defends the system of capitalist oppression and violence by force.

At the present time American imperialism has begun to apply a harsher, more aggressive and more adventurous line in foreign policy. It is relying more and more on military force. Reagan's new policy is clear evidence of this.

Now American imperialism is demanding that the whole of world reaction and counter-revolutionary forces unite in a single crusade under the American aegis against the revolution, socialism, the freedom, independence, sovereignty of the peoples and against the democratic human rights. Considering nearly all the zones from which oil and all the main raw materials are extracted, all the sea routes and all the strategic points of the globe as «zones of American interests», and by officially declaring that it will intervene with arms to defend these «interests», American imperialism has come out openly with a concrete program for the extension of its political and military power all over the world. The creation of the «rapid deployment force», that great aggressive army ready to intervene anywhere that Pentagon sends it to establish the domination of the United States with fire and steel, is an incontestable proof of this course.

This line is also expressed in the new «doctrine» of Washington, begun by Carter and further developed by Reagan, that allegedly peace in the world and the security of peoples can be achieved by means of the «increase of the American power

and superiority». In reality, this «doctrine» incites general imperialist war and brings it closer. The unprecedented build-up of various weapons, from the conventional weapons to atomic bombs equivalent to hundreds of megatons, the incitement of the militarist spirit and the total mobilization to achieve military superiority over the Soviet rival at any cost, are creating the concept in American leading circles that war is not only inevitable, but also an imperative necessity.

All these things show that the world will be faced with an intensification of the aggressive policy of American imperialism, an increase in its interference in internal affairs of other countries and especially in the use of its military force.

In these conditions any concession or giving way to American imperialism, any illusion that its policy might change for the better, carries great dangers for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

Today the hegemonic and expansionist policy for the establishment of world domination, the adventurous course for the preparation and incitement of war also characterize Soviet social-imperialism, the global strategy of which and especially the ways in which it is applied have likewise become more aggressive.

Beginning with the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the policy of the Soviet Union has gradually assumed a pronounced militarist character which

is expressed in the use of military force to realize its expansionist aims. Its military interventions followed one another. After Czechoslovakia came Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, Eritrea, into which the Soviets intervened by third parties. Finally came Afghanistan. Afghanistan marked the commencement of the great march of Soviet social-imperialism towards the South, where the world's greatest resources of energy are found, together with the most important strategic junctions and the fields where the most acute imperialist rivalries collide with one another.

The policy of the Soviet Union has assumed the same aggressive, expansionist, war-mongering features as those of the United States of America. This is clearly apparent from the same objectives which they have chosen and the parallel courses on which they are proceeding. The Soviet Union is seeking military bases in foreign countries and creating political-military alliances with other countries to have them as outposts for the extension of its domination over the peoples and in its contest with American imperialism. Likewise, it is not lagging behind in the armaments race. The Soviets have now a huge military arsenal which they are continuously building up and perfecting in the preparations which they are making for the outbreak of the war. The militarized Soviet economy has been placed in the service of realizing the plans of this new imperialist superpower for conquests.

As a result of all these things, the Soviet Union has been unmasked before the peoples as a ferocious imperialist power which is openly threatening and endangering their freedom and independence.

Nevertheless, among certain people and political forces in various countries, illusions about the Soviet Union still exist and there is a mistaken concept about the order which exists there and a naïve trust in its policy. This comes about not only from the fact that the Soviet Union gambles heavily on its socialist past and that it peddles its policy of rivalry with the United States of America as an anti-imperialist policy, but also for many other reasons. The main one among them is that the Soviet expansion is generally carried out through its penetration into the anti-imperialist, liberation movements, transforming them into its instruments and exploiting them to its own advantage. The facts have shown that not only those who have trusted the «internationalist aid» of the Soviet Union, but also those who have believed that they can rely on Soviet «aid» and alliance with it in order to oppose or gain liberation from American imperialism and other imperialisms, have become victims of its expansion.

It is particularly important to unmask the pacifist demagoguery of the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite slogans of «peaceful coexistence» and the misleading revisionist propaganda which tries to convince the peoples that averting war and ensur-

ing peace, indeed even national independence and social transformations, depend on the so-called détente between the two superpowers. The peoples do not want mounting tension, the development of acute conflicts, or the use of force in the settlement of international problems. But the so-called détente, which the Soviet revisionists advocate, has nothing at all to do with guaranteeing international peace and security which are threatened precisely by the two imperialist superpowers.

The détente trumpeted by the Soviet revisionists and the others is nothing but the old imperialist theory of balance and harmony among the great powers. The theories of «détente», «balance», or «bipolarism» which, despite some nuance in form, are identical in content, are intended to guarantee the mutual spheres of influence, to raise the dictate of superpowers in world affairs, the complete and unconditional submission of other countries to the two supergreat and abandonment of their national interests and sovereignty, to international law.

The imperialist-revisionist policy of war, oppression and exploitation has run into the great resistance of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. The peoples understand the intrigues, manoeuvres, strategy and tactics of the savage superpowers — the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union, and are not sitting idle.

The world today is witness to the fact that the struggle of the working class and the peoples, oppressed and exploited by world capital and imperialism, has assumed wide proportions and a variety of forms never seen before. The working class and all the exploited, in one way or another, with greater or lesser intensity, are fighting against all the capitalist ruling forces, whether local or international, which exploit them, impoverish them and oppress them economically and morally.

In all the capitalist countries, the resistance of the working class to the attacks of the bourgeoisie and its struggle to defend its standard of living and democratic rights have extended. Not only have the strikes, demonstrations and manifestations become more frequent, but the participation of workers in them has also reached unprecedented figures. Millions of workers are on strike in the USA, in Britain, in the FRG, in Italy, in France, Spain and elsewhere. These strikes and demonstrations are assuming a more and more militant character. Proof of this is the fact that in many countries of Europe and America the apparatuses of bourgeois violence have been obliged to use their weapons and fight the workers, as well as to take other restrictive and repressive measures. Cases in which the workers do not obey to bourgeois trade-unions and come out in the streets against the desire and orders of the trade-union bosses have increased.

In the present period the workers' struggle has been directed especially against the consequences of the economic crisis, the burden of which the bourgeoisie wants to throw on to the working class. The working masses have risen against this new injustice and robbery and are demanding that this burden should not fall on them, but on their employers. They are fighting to retain their jobs and real wage levels, fighting against inflation and the increasing cost of living, fighting for increased funds for health, education, social assistance, etc.

The social and political demagogy of capitalism and the opportunism and sabotage activity of social-democracy, revisionism and the trade-unions under their control are also being exposed and unmasked in this daily confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie. This anger and revolt, which is hitting the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie in different forms and with different intensities, is also a direct and powerful blow against the sinister forces of war which want the destruction of mankind.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries today, the working class is bound by many chains with which the bourgeois state and the various parties have shackled it. But this state of affairs will not last for ever. The increasingly acute contradictions between labour and capital and the capitalist and imperialist oppression in general are accelerating

the rise in the political and class consciousness of the proletariat and making it conscious that it can escape oppression and exploitation only through class struggle, only through revolution.

Besides the upsurge and extension of the struggle of the working class, a general awakening of the oppressed peoples, a strengthening of national feelings, and a greater desire to be free, independent and sovereign can be seen today. The peoples' liberation movements have grown in extent and enhanced their quality, their anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist character has been strengthened.

The struggle of the Iranian people, who rose in revolution and swept away the Shah and his mediaeval regime and threw out his American patrons, was a heavy blow to imperialism. In Iran, the United States of America suffered a major political defeat which it is unable to reverse through diplomatic methods and economic blackmail, or even through military intervention, as it attempted and failed to do at Tabaz. In Iran, American imperialism lost one of its most important sources of oil, lost colossal profits and lost its credibility as an invincible protector of its Arab «allies» of the Persian Gulf. The Egyptian-Israeli compromise at Camp David was shaken, and open and surreptitious disagreements with its NATO partners emerged.

The struggle of the Arab peoples against the

Israeli occupiers and their American patrons has assumed greater proportions and intensity. In the centre of this struggle stand the heroic Palestinian people who, in extraordinarily difficult conditions, have been waging a titanic battle for tens of years to regain the homeland denied them, to secure their rights and live free and independent on their mother soil. The people of Afghanistan are fighting valiantly and boldly against the Soviet social-imperialists and the local lackeys to regain their national independence.

The peoples of Latin America are shedding their blood in the fight against the fascist dictatorships, which are kept in power with the direct aid of American imperialism. The liberation and revolutionary movement there is growing and deepening and in many cases has succeeded in conquering the enemies and emerging triumphant. The most recent evidence of this is the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua, which overthrew one of the most reactionary regimes — that of Somosa, the outbreak of the revolution in Salvador, etc. In the «backyard» of the United States great tempests are blowing up, tempests which cannot be stopped, either with weapons or with dollars.

The African continent is not passive, either. Thanks to a long and persistent struggle, the overwhelming majority of the African countries won their state independence one after the other. Through armed struggle the Black population of

Zimbabwe succeeded in winning its rights, which a reactionary minority of old colonialists denied it. However, Namibia and the people of South Africa, who continue to live in segregation and without any rights, are not yet liberated. The peoples of Africa have not reconciled and cannot reconcile themselves to racism. Its existence insults and angers all the African peoples.

The people's national liberation wars, the blood shed by the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence, reflect the hatred for and anger against capitalist exploitation and the imperialist yoke. They confirm Lenin's theses about imperialism as capitalism in decay, as the eve of proletarian revolutions. They confirm that imperialism is heading for the abyss, that it is no longer capable of stopping the revolutionary drive of the peoples who dare to rise against it and are not intimidated by the imperialist pressures, threats and even armed interventions.

The international situation and the danger of war are becoming even more acute because of the grave economic, political and ideological crisis which has swept the capitalist and revisionist world today. The present economic crisis is the clearest and the most concrete expression of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Unlike the crisis of the 30's, which included the United States of America and the big developed countries especially, the present crisis has engulfed all the capitalist

countries, developed or undeveloped, without exception. This greater extent and depth of the crisis results from certain new factors in the development of the capitalist system after the Second World War, such as the further increase in the concentration and internationalization of capital, the establishment of the almost complete domination of the dollar in the world financial system, the extension of the activity of multi-national companies and their ever increasing weight in world production and the growth beyond all bounds of non-productive expenditure, especially on armaments.

The class and liberation struggles, the general weakening of the positions of imperialism, which came about as a result of the destruction of the colonial system and the emergence of scores of new states, which, to this or that extent, are fighting to achieve complete political and economic independence, have exerted an influence, indeed a great decisive influence, on the birth and development of the present crisis.

Like all the other crises, the present crisis is one of over-production. It is the offspring and an inevitable phenomenon of the capitalist system. Unlike the others, this crisis is continuing for a long time and there is no sign of emerging from it.

The capitalist economy remains in stagnation. In some countries production is declining further or showing only some unimportant increase. Because of the restriction of markets, exports are

declining on a world scale. The productive capacities of the big industrialized countries are being utilized less and less. Unemployment in those countries has reached 25 million people. Inflation is rising continuously.

Like any other crisis, but more so in this case, the present crisis has proved that, irrespective of the external forms it may assume during its development, the bourgeois system cannot ensure an harmonious growth of the economy, cannot ensure work and food for all the working people, cannot avoid economic catastrophes, and the destruction of productive forces and the national wealth created with the sweat and blood of the working people.

The present crisis is the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism. The mechanism of the state monopoly regulation of the economy has not only proved to be powerless against the crises, but has been transformed into another factor increasing the economic difficulties. Thus, it has been proved that the intervention of the monopoly state, the capitalist programming, are unable to eliminate competition, to ensure full employment of the population and to eliminate the obstacles to extended social reproduction.

With the present crisis, the model of the capitalist «consumer» society has received a crushing blow. The economic theories of present-day capitalism, spread and applied in all the big capitalist

countries, and which inspired a number of revisionist countries in their economic reforms, have gone bankrupt along with it.

Moreover, the present crisis has clearly shown the decay of the capitalist system, not only in its classical form, but also in the form of capitalism which prevails in the Soviet Union — state monopoly capitalism and its superstructures. This capitalist form of the domination and exploitation of the working people could not avoid the disturbances in the economy, the disorganization of the productive forces, the decline in production, the fall in the standard of living of the working masses, and the spread of the ills which bourgeois society creates.

If we were to make a general characterization of present-day capitalist and revisionist world economy we would say that it is in a state of stagnation, which is more and more degrading the internal social relations and the relations between states. What stands out most obviously is the intensification of a general attack on the standard of living and the rights of the working people. In almost all countries, expenditure on health, education, aid for children, pensions, etc., is being cut drastically.

Along with the worsening economic situation of the working people, in most of the capitalist countries there are mounting demands for «strong» government, with the purpose of imposing anti-worker measures on the population and keeping

in check the mounting class struggle. In some countries military putsches are carried out, there is terrorism and anarchy, organized by the bourgeois capitalist governments in power, there is illegal trafficking on a colossal scale, robbery organized on a national and international scale, and a hideous, unlimited development of physical, moral and political corruption. Fascism is knocking at the gates of many countries.

In all directions and in all aspects the present crisis proves that Marx's analysis of capital and Lenin's conclusions about imperialism remain not only correct but also the fundamental scientific basis for understanding the present social processes going on in the capitalist world and the tendencies of their development.

The economic crisis and the aggressive course of the superpowers have made all the contradictions between the imperialist powers more acute and struck heavy blows at their blocs and alliances. The economic, political and military relations within the various imperialist and revisionist groupings have been shaken. The members of Western and Eastern groupings are trying to exploit various splits and to find excuses for not abiding by the commitments, treaties and agreements which exist among them. New conflicts and rivalries have been added to the old ones. This is more obvious especially in the Western bloc.

The American policy of the big stick against

the peoples is accompanied with a tightening of the screws on its partners and clients. From Europe, Japan and China, American imperialism demands not only collaboration in all fields, but also complete submission. It is trying to dictate to its NATO allies that they increase their military budgets and accept the stationing of the new American «Pershing» and «Cruise» missiles on their territories, that they do not emerge with a policy of their own and do not flirt with the Soviet Union or the Arabs. However, the situation in the world today and the condition of the United States of America itself are no longer what they were in the time of Truman and the Marshall Plan.

Today, the political and economic power of the United States is declining in comparison with that of Western Europe. The competition from the Common Market and Japan has become very powerful and threatening. Whereas in 1950 the industrial production of the United States of America was two-thirds of world industrial production, today it is one-third of it. Whereas the USA at that time possessed 50 per cent of the world monetary reserves, today it has only 7 per cent of them. The leadership of American imperialism has been greatly weakened and is accepted reluctantly.

The European members of NATO have now organized and strengthened their economic potential within their countries and abroad, have strengthened their own military arsenal, and have created

their reactionary organism — the European Common Market. Its tendency is to oppose the American dictate as much as it can, to restrict the American expansion into the markets of its member countries, to compete on the American market and to extend its own markets. Each of the big states of Western Europe has begun to re-create and strengthen its own spheres of influence on an extensive scale.

The strategy of the European monopolies is aimed at the transformation of Europe, first into an economic superpower, then into a political superpower, and later still into a military superpower. However, these are fields in which it will come into collision with the superpowers and other imperialist powers.

On the chess-board of the present situation, a very favourable piece for the United States of America is China, and Japan along with it. True, China is a weaker partner than «United Europe», but it has greater need for America and is very hostile to the Soviet Union. For this reason American imperialism has decided to provide China with many armaments, including offensive weapons. At the same time, it is putting pressure on Japan to increase its military budget, its army and armaments.

Already a new imperialist alliance between the United States, Japan and China has taken form in the Far East, and this constitutes another danger

that local wars, or a general war, will break out. Apart from American imperialism, which has considered the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean as its indisputable spheres of influence, now Japan, too, an economic superpower with new imperial ambitions, has emerged with hegemonic pretensions. China, which dreams of becoming the sole ruler of Asia and Oceania, also, has similar ambitions in this zone. The United States of America, for its part, is trying to direct the expansionist tendencies of China and Japan towards the Soviet Union.

In order to cope with and counter the American-Sino-Japanese front in Asia, the Soviet Union is trying to get footholds in Africa, the Middle East, Pakistan, Indochina, and if possible, also in India, while in Europe it seeks to maintain a «détente» with the Common Market and pursues a policy to split the fronts. In other words, it is making every effort to weaken the encirclement around it, to split the military bloc which is being prepared and developed on its two flanks — in Europe and Asia, and to secure dominant strategic positions for an eventual war. However, Europe, for which the Soviet Union constitutes a great threat, does not want to be endangered, either. It is ready to set the others, especially the Sino-Japanese front, fighting the Soviet Union so that this front draws the chestnuts out of the fire for it.

Moreover, it also has its internal problems which frequently bind it hand and foot. «United

Europe» is not internally united. The Parliament of Strassburg cannot settle its many problems and the contradictions which are eroding the Common Market. The feuds, rivalries and opposing interests of each state are increasing to such an extent that they are putting the very existence of this Market in jeopardy.

The contradictions and disagreements have become very acute, also, within the so-called socialist community. The Soviet Union itself is in such difficulties that it is no longer able to fulfil the demands of the allied countries for a normal development of their economies. Having long ago turned into appendages of the Soviet economy, these countries are obliged to submit to its ups and downs and caprices.

There are frictions and quarrels also because of the tendency of the satellite countries to move closer to and collaborate with the West. The Soviet Union tries to hinder this rapprochement and to keep the countries of Eastern Europe bound to it with chains. To this end, it is trying in every way to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty, Comecon and the other organisms of economic and political integration, to reinforce its military garrisons in these countries, etc. When this cannot be achieved through agreement, it acts with tanks, as it did in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The best evidence of the grave situation in the «socialist community» and of the deep contradic-

tions eroding it, are the recent events in Poland, which have led that country to the brink of economic catastrophe and to major social and political upheavals. These are consequences of the line pursued by the Polish revisionist party for the re-establishment of capitalism, of the all-round subjugation of the country to the Soviet Union, of opening the doors to Western capital and the consequence of the large debts of Poland, which amount to the colossal sum of 27 billion dollars. Herein lies the source of the revolts of the working class and working people of Poland.

The revolt of the workers of Poland has confirmed two capital questions of principled importance. It has shown that the working class has the strength to destroy a reactionary state power, either revisionist or capitalist.

On the other hand, it has demonstrated that the subjective factor, the political force which leads the working class, plays a decisive role. In the case of «Solidarity», the working class is manipulated and directed by the Catholic Church and Polish and world reaction, which are fighting to establish another revisionist-capitalist regime on a course full of unexpected dangers and tragic consequences. Otherwise, had a truly Marxist-Leninist communist party — the subjective factor, been in the leadership, the Polish working class would have carried out the proletarian revolution and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The way for the working class and people of Poland and of all the other revisionist countries to escape capitalist exploitation and foreign oppression is not through reconciliation with the revisionist regime in power and with the Soviet social-imperialist slavery, or through uniting with Western capital and reaction. The only way to ensure the development of the economy, the freedom and independence of the country and the re-establishment of socialism is through the open and resolute struggle of the masses of the people under the leadership of the working class, with a genuine Marxist-Leninist party at its head.

The sharpening of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, as well as with their partners within their military and economic blocs, is increasingly leading to new tensions and conflicts, to wars of a local and general character for the redivision of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is a law of the development of capitalism.

However, the inter-imperialist contradictions and conflicts also cause the weakening of the imperialist system as a whole and of its individual links. It is up to the conscious revolutionary forces to know how to utilize the situations created by these contradictions in order to mobilize the masses, to make them conscious and engage them in struggle and revolution.

The neo-colonialist system created by imperial-

ism after the Second World War is also in a grave crisis at present. In order to retain their political and economic domination, to ensure the maximum exploitation of the wealth of former colonial countries, to restrain the growth of the liberation movements of the freedom-loving peoples, the imperialists have tried to find and employ new forms of oppression and enslavement, ever more deceptive and sophisticated.

By means of the system of credits, loans, aid, and various funds, they have turned these countries into permanent debtors at the mercy of creditors who, in return for the money provided, demand not only their title-deeds, but also their souls. Accompanying the credits and aid, the multinational companies have established themselves, becoming not only monopoly holders of concessions for the exploitation of the mines, oil, electric power, wholesale trade, communications, etc., but also political centres with which the different groups in power in each country are linked. The big banks with alluring names like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Development Fund, etc., have been transformed into the headquarters of international neo-colonialism for the domination and exploitation of the new countries. They are the financial and political centres which, together with the multinationals, organize and inspire coups d'état, topple governments and establish others, and even cause

local wars when the interests of big capital require this. These conflicts have been turned into big business for the sale of arms and have been used for conducting tests on live testing grounds.

But besides this savage and all-round exploitation, certain changes of the economic and social structures have occurred in the former colonial countries, which are the result of investments, the introduction of new technique and technology, the extension of communications, etc., which the imperialists have been obliged to carry out so as to achieve greater and more rapid plunder of the wealth above and below the ground. This has also brought about the creation of new local social strata such as the national bourgeoisie, workers of various categories, and a new intelligentsia necessary to work in the economic, political and administrative sectors.

This development has opened the eyes of many people of these strata, especially among the new intelligentsia, who no longer reconcile themselves to the forms and methods which are used for the oppression and exploitation of their peoples.

National revolutionary consciousness is mounting everywhere. This is clearly apparent in the extension of the movement of various countries and forces which are struggling for the establishment of national sovereignty over their own national assets, re-evaluation of raw materials and sources of energy, for equal exchanges with mutual

benefit in international trade, for alteration of the international monetary system established by imperialism, for the restriction and elimination of the monopoly economic power of the multi-national companies, etc. This movement has deepened the existing economic crisis, and especially the energy and raw materials crisis which has gripped the capitalist revisionist world.

The big capitalist powers have built their industrial empires with the oil they have robbed from other peoples and the raw materials they have bought cheaply. The parasitic and uncontrolled consumption of world resources of energy and raw materials has created the present critical situation in this basic sector of the development of the economy of every country.

Energy and raw materials exist, but they are no longer found at cheap prices. The big imperialist and capitalist powers are now unable to completely dominate the sources of raw materials and dictate their prices. The producing countries, which have woken up and are defending their interests, which are seeking development, want to make investments in industry, agriculture and other sectors of their national economy, are resisting the pressure for low prices for oil and raw materials.

The resistance and struggle of peoples dominated by neo-colonialism in defence of their rights, assets and national sovereignty is an irresistible

process which will increase and develop further in the future.

Imperialism and its system of neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation is profoundly aware of this threat. Therefore, it is making every effort, using demagoguery and deception here and force there, to suppress this movement, to confuse its revolutionary and progressive vanguard, to make it deviate and lead it into a blind alley. On the other hand, in order to deceive the peoples of the oppressed and dependent countries, and to keep the rotten neo-colonialist system in existence at all costs, its defenders try to create the impression among world opinion generally that these countries are completely free and sovereign, that they have the right to their «independent» say in the various international organizations and even to disagree with and oppose the superpowers.

Imperialism stimulated and encouraged the emergence of various movements and theories which created this impression. One of them is the «non-aligned» movement. The basis of it was advocacy of non-participation in political and military blocs and defence of the interests of the economically undeveloped countries against the superpower policy. Now, however, when the rivalry between the superpowers has increased, when the crisis has narrowed the fields for manoeuvre, it is quite apparent that a large number of «non-aligned» countries are uniting with one or the other super-

power. Along with the splitting of the movement and the many conflicts between different so-called non-aligned countries, the demagogic theories so painstakingly concocted by the different leaders, especially the Yugoslavs, who have wanted to become the leaders and ideologists of this group, collapsed, too. Now it has ended up as an ill-defined, fluid and fickle movement which flares up and dies down according to the situations which are created and the interests of the superpowers.

At one time, the Chinese theory of «three worlds» also emerged as a theory in defence of neo-colonialism and especially of the American domination of the world. But it melted away like salt crystals in water. It was played as a trump card, but was very quickly over-trumped. Our Party exposed and attacked this reactionary, counter-revolutionary theory.

In recent years there has been a great deal of propaganda about what is called the «new international economic order» which is supposed to solve the great tangle of problems that are worrying the economically undeveloped countries today, such as those of industrialization, food, the transformation of the structures of production, etc. Around this «new order» various theories have been created, complete schemes and projects have been presented and concrete actions have been undertaken, such as the so-called North-South dialogue, the Conference of the 77, the special meet-

ings of the General Assembly of the United Nations, etc.

However, years have gone by and nothing has been achieved, because the imperialists and the neo-colonialists do not renounce their privileges and dominant positions. The fruitless resolutions of various international meetings and the decisions to hold new meetings are all that remains from them.

Of course, it is essential that the international economic relations are changed. This is the desire and demand of the peoples who are fighting to break free from the chains of neo-colonialism. But in what way can these be achieved? The revisionists and other opportunists pretend that this can be achieved by means of propaganda, by means of the education of capitalists, and by means of talks. The opinion that a new international order can be achieved through moralizing sermons is not only beyond any bounds of reality and possibility, but also an ill-intentioned fraud. The correct course is the struggle of the peoples to defend their rights to the end, resolute opposition to the neo-colonialist plunder, the taking over and the sovereign administration of the national assets. Only thus can the undeveloped countries impose their just demands for equal exchanges in the economic field, collaboration with mutual benefit, etc., on the big imperialist and capitalist powers.

The big imperialist powers, together with those

not quite so big; think and theorize that it is they who have the fate of nations and mankind in their hands and act accordingly, and on this basis they seek to subjugate the peoples. These aggressive powers underestimate the strength of the peoples. Their vision is obscured and they do not want to see that every advance of the peoples towards opposing the twofold oppression and enslavement, external and internal, makes a breach which will be widened in the wall of the capitalist and imperialist prison.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism make great efforts to appear as two invincible superpowers. True, they have great military and economic potential, influence and interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples and states, but to have weapons, to have dollars or rubles does not mean that you have invincible power. The imperialist superpowers must be appraised as they really are, neither underestimating nor overestimating them. They are powerful and ferocious, but they are also in decay, they are worm-eaten and degenerate, and their foundations are shaky.

World capital is making great efforts to escape the crisis, to protect itself from the peoples' liberation struggles and from the revolution, this terrible iron grip which has it by the throat and is strangling it. But escape is impossible, because it is the capitalist system itself which creates political, economic and ideological crises and

which fuels them and intensifies them to the highest degree. In order to emerge from the chaos which capitalism creates, to escape once and for all capitalist oppression and exploitation, the neo-colonialist yoke of foreigners and the domination of reaction, there is no other course apart from the revolution, the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

The struggle of the peoples, the struggle of the proletariat against their enemies will surge ahead. It is an objective historical process which no force can stop.

The complex and difficult situations which have been and are being created in the world face our Party and our socialist state with the duty of maintaining the revolutionary vigilance always at a high level, and taking measures for the all-round strengthening of the economy and defence, and the unity and political consciousness of the people. These situations, likewise, demand that our foreign policy should be active, should ever better serve the defence of the interests of the Homeland and the victories of socialism, the advance of the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world, and the support of all those processes which assist the emancipation and progress of present-day human society.

Our foreign policy, as the policy of a socialist state, of a truly free society without exploiting

classes, is a revolutionary and internationalist policy. It is free from the slightest sign of narrow bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusiveness, or of underration of other peoples. The Albanian people have respect for every people and wish all peoples well.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania firmly upholds the principle that each people has the right to choose its own course of development and decide its own fate in a sovereign way.

As a completely free country, socialist Albania says what it thinks openly, without any hesitation and with complete sincerity. It applies a sovereign foreign policy which is not restricted by political pacts, military treaties or closed economic organizations. It does not base its economic and political development, its defence and its future on the credits, loans or aid from other states, but on its own forces.

As a result of this, the voice of Albania has always been a free, realistic and objective voice in a world where the dependence on and subjugation of many states to big imperialist powers restrict and distort any independent thought or action.

During the period since the 7th Congress of the Party, our state, basing itself on the well-known principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and reciprocal benefit, has extended its diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with an ever greater number of

states and has steadily increased its exchanges with them in various fields. Today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains diplomatic relations with 95 states, as against 74 states with which it maintained relations at the time of the 7th Congress of the Party.

The policy of our Party and our socialist state has been and always will be for the continuous strengthening of sincere relations of friendship and collaboration with all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, with all those who fight against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of imperialists. It is for the development of sincere collaboration with all those countries which wish it well and maintain a correct attitude towards it.

Our Party and country are opposed to all those imperialist and neo-colonialist practices of inequality, discrimination and great-state dictate in international relations. We believe that the relations between states, whether big or small, should be free from any kind of economic, political or military pressure and dictate, and should serve their economic, cultural and social development, the strengthening of friendship between sovereign peoples and states, and the interests of the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world.

Our socialist state has been and is for the normal and free development of international trade on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit. Our country is for balanced trade exchanges without

discrimination or restrictive measures, therefore it has expressed its opposition to unequal relations in trade exchanges, to the manipulation of prices and, in general, to machinations and attempts by any state at all, which aims to exploit trade relations as a means of pressure in order to dictate its own political will and views to the other state.

We do not confuse trade exchanges with receiving of aid and credits. These are two separate, unconnected things.

The way we understand and carry on foreign trade, leaves the Albanian state a free hand to act and decide for itself, to have its say just as it thinks and to build the country with its own forces as it desires.

Our country has concluded a series of cultural agreements with many countries and carries on regular exchanges in the fields of art, culture, science, sports, etc. These exchanges have served to acquaint our peoples reciprocally with one another's achievements and progress. Our people value and utilize everything good and progressive which other peoples have. Progressive experience and culture are the treasure of all mankind. At the same time, we make efforts to acquaint the other peoples with the values of our culture, too, which is as ancient as it is progressive.

It is the principled and independent internal and foreign policy of our Party and socialist state, their just stands on international issues, their struggle

on the side of the peoples and against imperialism, which have strengthened the international position of Albania and raised its prestige.

The word and deed of Albania are listened to and welcomed with respect by the peoples and workers of different countries, because they are in conformity with their own interests and aspirations. That is why the peoples and progressive opinion throughout the world prize and approve this policy, why the countries and states with different social systems follow it with interest and admire it, while reaction and the Soviet, Yugoslav and other modern revisionists, attack it.

As is natural and understandable, our Party and Government have devoted special care to relations with neighbouring countries and, in a wider framework, with the European countries. Our stands towards them are known and they do not alter. At all times and in every situation, the aim of the foreign policy of Albania has been to contribute as much as possible to the strengthening of peace and international security on our continent and to the strengthening of collaboration amongst its peoples. We have said and still say that the participation of the majority of the countries of Europe in the military and the political blocs of the superpowers is the cause of its misfortune. This is where the divisions and splits in Europe, the frequent tensions and confrontations between different countries of this continent, have their source.

That policy which seeks to persuade the European peoples that by sheltering under the atomic umbrellas of the superpowers, their freedom, national independence and the general peace are allegedly guaranteed, is an extremely dangerous policy and a fraud. This policy does not ensure these things, but sacrifices them. The fact is that in the name of future security, present-day security has been sacrificed, sovereignty has been crippled and the freedom of action and independent stands of many Eastern and Western states in the international arena have been restricted.

The Helsinki Declaration has been presented to the European countries as a guarantee of their independence and sovereignty and a means to ensure peace. We have clearly expressed our attitude towards the Helsinki Conference and the so-called European security. Socialist Albania did not take part in it and denounced it as a farce hatched up by the two superpowers with the objective of guaranteeing and strengthening their respective spheres of influence in Europe, of legalizing and perpetuating their domination on this continent. The events that have occurred in Europe and around it since the Helsinki Conference have completely corroborated and justified the stand of Albania. Time has shown that the so-called «Helsinki spirit», «peaceful collaboration», «the free circulation of people and ideas», etc., were nothing but hollow-sounding slogans to deceive the European peoples, to arouse the illusion

in them that the danger of war is allegedly being removed and that the maintenance of the imperialist status quo in Europe is their salvation.

Our view is that only resolute opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the liquidation of military blocs and the removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure the peace in Europe.

The problems of the Balkans are the same as those which are worrying Europe as a whole, but here, because of the strategic position which this peninsula occupies and the old feuds, the conflicts are more acute and the dangers greater.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that the superpowers, proceeding from their hegemonic interests and their desire to transform the Balkans «permanently into a powder keg», are trying to arouse chauvinist passions and sentiments, to set the Balkan peoples and countries against one another, to prevent the relations between them from developing normally and in a positive direction, and to undermine the strengthening of friendship between neighbouring peoples.

The dangers in the Balkans are increased especially due to the participation of some countries of this region in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, the existence of foreign military bases, and permitting the American and Soviet fleets to enter their territorial waters and stay in their ports, etc.

Such developments create tensions and are fraught with dangers for the Balkan peoples. In every direction and aspect they are in opposition to the sincere efforts and desires of the peoples of the Balkans for the establishment of trust, understanding and genuine collaboration between the countries of our peninsula.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the view that at present the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans, peace and stability in this zone, can be served best by not allowing the imperialist superpowers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps for the positive development of relations on the basis of the good neighbour policy. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries undertake officially not to allow the superpowers to threaten or endanger other neighbouring countries from their territories. In the future, just as in the past, socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with the neighbouring states.

Albania has been guided by these principles and these aims in its relations with Yugoslavia, too. It has been predisposed to and has made all efforts for the normal and correct development of good neighbourly relations, such as those in the

field of trade, transport, cultural exchanges and in other fields of mutual interest.

In our relations with Yugoslavia we have always proceeded from the fact that our peoples have been living beside one another for centuries, that frequently in history they have had a common fate, that when foreign invaders have attacked one they have not spared the other. As a result of these things, irrespective of the ideological and political contradictions which have existed and still exist between our two countries and which are already known world wide, irrespective of the ideological polemic which has been and is being developed by the two sides, we always seek to live in peace with Yugoslavia, as good neighbours, without interference in each other's internal affairs and respecting the rights of each.

The policy of socialist Albania towards Yugoslavia has always been constant, unaltered in its foundations and principles. If there have been ups and downs, improvements and deteriorations in Albanian-Yugoslav relations, this has come about not through any fault of ours, but through the fault of the Yugoslav leading circles. The present deterioration in the relations between the PSR of Albania and SFR of Yugoslavia also is a consequence of chauvinist actions of the Belgrade authorities towards the population of Kosova and their incitement of a new campaign of hostility against our country.

As far as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is concerned, the attitudes and behaviour of Yugoslavs towards it will not make it waver from its principles or make it change course. Its desire is that the state relations in different fields between the two countries should develop normally. However, this will depend on the stand of Yugoslavia towards socialist Albania and on its treatment of the Albanians of Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia.

The problem of the Albanians who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia is not a problem of a «minority» which has immigrated to or settled somewhere in an «empty» zone as an economic immigration, is not a result of the onslaught of the Ottoman Empire, nor of the natural demographic increase of Albanians, which is worrying the Great-Serb neo-Malthusians. The Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute an ethnos, a people formed centuries ago, who have their own history, language and culture, an autochthonous people who, as is known, were cut up and were separated from their Motherland by the imperialist great powers and annexed to Yugoslavia. This nobody can conceal. Any other interpretation is arbitrary, a flagrant and harmful falsification of history.

The Albanian people did not allow the fascist occupiers or anyone else to determine the Motherland of the Albanian ethnos. The Albanians have fought unceasingly for centuries against many sav-

age enemies, much greater in numbers, in order to defend their national identity and their very existence. In all these wars, both in defeat and in victory, in the long years of enslavement, throughout their history, the Albanian people have never lost their national identity and national consciousness, their compactness and unity. In all circumstances they have manifested these things with an extraordinary and exemplary vitality.

The empires and the great powers were quite unable to wipe out the compact ethnos of Albanians, nor were they able to assimilate them or to alter their culture, language, habits and customs. The very existence of the Albanian people proves this. History shows that without any support from foreign powers, which have always been opposed to them, the Albanian people have fought successfully for the freedom and compactness of their nation, to defend their independence as a sovereign state, their culture and their own natural and legitimate rights. At all times they have achieved victory only by fighting and shedding their blood for it.

During the Second World War, the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia fought together and as close comrades-in-arms against the Italian and the German fascist invaders. The Albanians who live in Yugoslavia also fought heroically together with us and all the peoples of Yugoslavia against the same enemies. Not only did they fight together, but our National Liberation Army went to

the aid of the Yugoslav partisans and the Kosova brothers, and the blood of the sons and daughters of the Albanian people was shed on their land. We acted as the Communist Party of Albania taught us, with a high level of consciousness and internationalist spirit. We thought that the peoples of our two countries would win freedom in this way, that enslavement would be eliminated and the tragic mistakes of past history would be corrected. We believed that after the victory everything would be settled in the Marxist-Leninist way. Our communist parties, which led the National Liberation War in the two countries, were a guarantee for this. However, our belief in the «communism and internationalism» of the Yugoslav leaders, our trust in their words, proved to be unjustified. In fact, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia never took a proper Marxist-Leninist view of the question of the future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, therefore this question was bound to be settled, as it was settled, in a wrong and distorted fashion, in an utterly anti-Marxist, nationalist and chauvinist way.

The wrong solution of this great issue of principle began at the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia, held at Jajce, in November 1943, where the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia were used as a means to adjust the proportions of the territories and populations of the republics of the Federation, and

more precisely of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was decided apriori from above, without the approval and self-determination of the Albanian people of Kosova and the other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, and without the slightest consultation with the ally of the peoples of Yugoslavia directly interested in this question — people's Albania. Contrary to the «policy of national equality» proclaimed at the 2nd Meeting of the AVNOJ, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia unjustly violated the will of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, expressed at the meeting of the 1st Founding Conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosova and Metohia, held at Bujan from December 31, 1943 to January 2, 1944, which was completely in conformity with the right of «self-determination up to secession» of the peoples who constituted Yugoslavia, and which had been defined in the fundamental documents of the Communist Party and the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia.

In regard to consultation with people's Albania on the settlement of this historical problem, the Yugoslav leadership apriori considered it unnecessary. It was against such consultation, because it knew that a principled Marxist-Leninist friendly discussion between the leaderships of our two countries, taking also into account the free will of the Albanians living on their own land in

Yugoslavia, would lead to a just solution and not to an arbitrary chauvinist and nationalist solution, such as that which the Yugoslav leadership undertook.

After the war, in 1946, a delegation from our country, which I headed, paid the first official visit to Yugoslavia. In the talks which were held with Tito on this occasion, he wanted to know what I thought about the solution of the question of Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. I expressed the opinion of the Albanian side that Kosova and the other regions inhabited by the Albanians belonged to Albania and should be returned to it. The Albanians fought to have a free and sovereign Albania, with which the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia should now be united. President Tito replied: «I agree with your view, but we cannot do this for the time being, because the Serbs would not understand us.» This official promise of Tito's on this great issue of principle was not accompanied with any further action on the part of the Yugoslavs. The whole thing was a fraud on their part.

The fundamental error of a nationalist and chauvinist character of the Yugoslav leadership, which was followed by other equally grave errors in connection with the legitimate and natural rights of Albanians who are now accused by the Great-Serbs of being «chauvinist», «nationalist» and «irredentist», lies in the wrong solution at Jajce, in the

dividing up of Albanian territories and in the denial of the expression of the free will of the Albanians. The recent events in Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia have their source in this very wrong and anti-Leninist solution of the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially in regard to the Albanian entity of about 2 million inhabitants, nearly as many as the total population of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Right from the start, Serbian, Montenegrine and Macedonian chauvinism followed a savage nationalist policy of oppression and discrimination against Albanians in all directions, in education, culture, the economy, etc.

Even in the period when there were good relations between our country and Yugoslavia and between the two parties, the problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was a «ball and chain» on the legs of the Yugoslavs. They did not examine the Albanians' demands and causes of complaint, did not settle them politically through understanding, but settled them with violence, with savage administrative measures. The Albanians were accused of nationalism and this was done to cover up the Serbian chauvinism and nationalism. Nothing can cover up or justify the bloody reprisals against the Albanians of Yugoslavia in 1945, 1968 and again in 1981, the discrimination imposed upon them, leaving them in poverty, the national oppression, the

denial of their rights and great discrimination in the field of education and culture. The falling into disgrace of the Great-Serb group of Ranković in 1966, and later that of the other Great-Serb group of Nikezić marks the period of the Titoites' political demagoguery towards Kosova and the Kosovars. The need to balance the various forces within the Federation led to a certain formal revision of the status of Kosova which, from a simple region of Serbia, was called an «autonomous» region of Serbia.

Whether the Serbs liked it or not, this new situation gave the Albanians in Yugoslavia, and especially the Kosovars, possibilities to extend their schooling, to set up the University of Prishtina, to develop their culture, to learn the history of their people, to establish contacts and educational-cultural and economic relations with Albania, on the basis of the laws of the Federation and official agreements between the PSRA and the SFRY. However, the economic base of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova still remained too weak and was neglected. Its assets were still unscrupulously exploited by the other republics of the Federation, especially by Serbia. All the «solutions», which were presented with great clamour during this period, were unavailing, temporary and useful only to Belgrade and Skoplje. According to the occasion, without saying so openly, they were considered either as «opportunist concessions of Tito's», as occurred among the Serbs,

or as «victories achieved thanks to Tito», as they were loudly proclaimed by some Albanian leaders of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova. Meanwhile the masses of Albanians did not nurse many illusions, because what was given them was very little compared with the major rights which they had been denied and robbed of.

The events which have occurred since the death of Tito have shown how wrongly and on what an anti-Marxist course the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially the question of the Albanians, had been settled. A heavy and bloody blow was dealt to their lawful demands, recognized in the Constitution, by the Serbian chauvinist leadership and the whole Yugoslav leadership after the demonstrations which were held in Kosova in March and April this year. Now, apart from the deplorable economic situation, savage national oppression is being imposed on the Kosovars and all the other Albanians in Yugoslavia more than at any other time. A reign of terror has been established over them, the Serbian police and army have been poured in and the jails are packed with young men and women. The measures which are continually being taken are directed not only towards the elimination of any legitimate rights and those few gains which appeared in the development of education and culture, but also towards the denationalization of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. And this is being done by those who claim that

they respect the documents of the Helsinki Conference about freedoms and human rights. World opinion must not remain indifferent, but ought to be alarmed about this tragic situation of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

After all, what did the Albanians demand in the mass demonstrations which were held in various towns and villages of Kosova?

The Albanians in Yugoslavia have demanded more than once, through peaceful demonstrations and without demonstrations, that their constitutional, economic and socio-cultural situation should be corrected and put on the right road within the laws of the Federation. They demanded the status of a Republic within the SFRY. They did not demand either secession from the Federation or unification with Albania. However, the just and lawful demands of the students, workers, peasants and intellectuals of Kosova went unheeded. Moreover, as at other times when they had presented such lawful and just demands, they were described as nationalist, were persecuted and bloodily suppressed.

Can these problems be solved in this way in our times? Never. It is impossible to keep a people, whose territory contains great wealth and is plundered by others, in poverty and want. It is impossible to keep a valiant people, like the Albanians, under the threat of tanks and bayonets. It is impossible to distort or eliminate their history and ancient

culture. It is impossible to wipe out their patriotic sentiments and love for their Homeland.

If the present Yugoslav leadership proceeds on the course it has chosen and is pursuing, the opposition of the Albanians will continue, will grow and become even more acute. Only a solution of the national question, which is well considered by the two sides without passion, a solution which is accepted and approved by the people of Kosova, can eliminate this very complicated situation which has been created not by the people of Kosova, but by Great-Serb chauvinism. The people of Kosova proposed the fairest and most suitable solution in this situation, which is difficult for Yugoslavia and for themselves. The demand to raise Kosova to the status of a Republic within the Federation is a just demand. It does not threaten the existence of the Federation. Instead of being reasonable, the Serbian and Yugoslav chiefs sent in the tanks, shed the people's blood and now they are going ahead on a wide scale with their famous differentiation, that is, police investigations: who was for and who was against demonstrations. To act in this way, first with terror and then allegedly with «differentiation», means to try to intimidate the masses who cannot be intimidated, to eliminate their patriotism which cannot be eliminated, to have the illusion that you have calmed the situation when you have aroused indignation and anger; to think that you have brought «trustworthy people» into the

state power which you have purged of «nationalists», etc., when you have only impelled the whole people to silent resistance, who tomorrow will raise their voices with greater force against the atrocities which are being committed. The Yugoslav leaders do not want to understand this situation.

Because we state these truths openly and demand that the problem of Kosova and all the Albanians in Yugoslavia, which has been settled wrongly, should be re-studied with cool heads, avoiding the use of violence and terror, because we demand an end to the persecutions and the release from jail of the boys and girls of Kosova, they accuse the PSR of Albania of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and even of inciting the disturbances in Kosova and elsewhere! And how is it allegedly inciting these disturbances? By means of official educational and cultural relations. They even go so far as to claim that the PSR of Albania is making common cause with Albanian political reaction in exile, which we have always fought with all our strength.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The opposite has occurred. The Yugoslav revisionists plotted to bring about the liquidation of the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania and the incorporation of Albania into the Yugoslav Federation as its 7th Republic, aiming in this way, through an annexationist and imperialist course, to

resolve the problem of the whole Albanian nation once and for all. However, these plots did not succeed and they will never succeed. Albania is not and never will become a means of regulation to calm the conflicts and contradictions between the Yugoslav clans. It belongs to its people, a people full of vitality, valiant and patriotic, who fear no one.

Albania has never made territorial claims against Yugoslavia, and no demand for border re-adjustments can be found in its documents. While maintaining this stand, however, we have not denied and never will deny the fact that a good part of the Albanian nation and people lives in Yugoslavia. We have defended the legitimate rights of our Albanian brothers across the border and we shall continue to defend them in the future with all our might and in a Marxist-Leninist way, and this is not interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is our undeniable right.

The question of Kosova is a tragedy. The Yugoslav authorities must cease their terror and persecution of the Albanians, eliminate the national oppression, and recognize all the rights due to them. To solve the problems justly, they must talk calmly, without heat and on terms of equality with the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has devoted special care to strengthening friendly relations with Greece. In recent years these relations

have assumed further development in all fields. Commercial exchanges have been extended and are developing successfully to the advantage of both sides. The collaboration in the field of culture, the coming and going of artistic groups, the reciprocal visits of people of art, education and science, have assisted our peoples to become better acquainted with one another's achievements and progress. They have served to strengthen the ancient and traditional friendship which links our two countries. Convinced that the relations of friendship and understanding between Albania and Greece fully respond to the common interests and aspirations of our peoples, the PSR of Albania will make every effort to extend and develop these relations in the future.

We note with satisfaction that the Greek government and the Greek people also are predisposed to and desire that the relations between our two countries should proceed on the basis of friendship and good neighbourliness. The sentiments of the Albanian people and the Greek people are in accord in many directions. They wish each other well and rejoice at each other's progress, proceeding from the principle that each is master in his own house and his own affairs. The friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people is a lasting friendship, which will unceasingly be strengthened and flourish in the interests of our peoples and peace and security in the Balkans.

Efforts by anyone to break this friendship will fail. We are convinced that now all the conditions and possibilities have been created, so that through common efforts any obstacle can be removed and broad avenues of development of fruitful relations with mutual benefit can be opened between our two friendly countries.

We are ready to work with Italy for the further development of normal relations in conformity with the aspirations and interests of our two neighbouring peoples. Many links have existed between Albania and Italy in various fields, such as those of trade, transport and cultural exchanges, etc. Our peoples have always wished to live in peace and friendship with one another. Although several times in the course of history they have been divided and set at loggerheads, they have tried to come together, to collaborate and strengthen the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding.

The possibilities exist for further progress in Albanian-Italian relations. It is our desire that they proceed well, but this depends also on the predisposition and interest of the Italian side to collaborate with Albania in a new spirit, in friendship and complete equality.

The relations of our country with the Republic of Turkey have developed and are developing more and more in the spirit of friendship and collaboration. The growing goodwill and respect between our two peoples and countries create a good basis

for the further extension and strengthening of these relations in the future.

During their history, the Albanian people and the Turkish people have had friendly links and affinities with each other. The Turkish people, who have an ancient history and culture, have had great respect for the valiant men of Albania, for the scholars, philosophers, statesmen, architects, writers and poets of Albanian birth or origin, who have made their contribution to the efforts of the Turkish people for progress.

The Albanian people have special admiration and respect for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, that outstanding personality and statesman, who, with great courage and inspired by democratic progressive ideas, liberated Turkey and its valiant people from the complex of enslaving other peoples, which characterized the Sultans' empire, consolidated the unity and genuine independence of the Turkish nation and set Turkey on the course of democracy and progress.

The Albanian people have been aware of the feelings of goodwill towards Albania held by Kemal Atatürk who opposed King Zog, the tyrant of the Albanian people.

The sincere friendship of the Turkish people towards the Albanian people and the lofty spirit of Atatürk can be seen clearly in their fraternal sheltering of hundreds of thousands of our brothers from Kosova, who were driven from their

lands in Yugoslavia. We thank the fraternal Turkish people for this and for their friendship towards the Albanian people, a friendship which is reciprocal.

Positive new steps have been made in our friendly relations with the French Republic. We appreciate the efforts of the ever more numerous well-wishers of Albania in France to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples. The Albanian people, for their part, nurture friendly feelings and have respect for the talented French people, for their revolutionary traditions and their progress.

As in the past, we sincerely desire that the relations of our state with Austria, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Portugal should be further developed and extended in the positive and friendly direction they have taken in recent years.

The post-Second World War British governments have adopted hostile, anti-democratic stands towards new Albania. Apart from this, they seized the Albanian gold plundered by the Hitlerites and to this day are still exploiting it in their own interests, by not returning it to the rightful owner, socialist Albania.

In these circumstances, can there be any talk of diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Britain? The British Government must immediately return the gold to Albania together with the interests accrued from

the arbitrary exploitation of it. Let no one doubt that socialist Albania will defend its interests and will fight against injustices which have been or are being done to it.

There are no insurmountable difficulties to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Federal Republic of Germany. We believe that with understanding on the part of both sides over certain questions that remain suspended since the Second World War, this situation can be put in order.

The profound principled ideological and political disagreements of our Party and state with the countries of Eastern Europe are well-known. While not relinquishing the struggle against modern revisionism, we are for the normal development of relations, for trade exchanges on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit with Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Hungary.

A sincere and ancient friendship links the Albanian people with the fraternal Arab peoples. We have supported and will continue to support to the end and energetically the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli Zionist aggressors and the re-establishment of all the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in the Albanian people, the heroic Palestinian people and their law-

ful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, have had and will always have sincere friends and resolute defenders of their just national cause.

We note with particular satisfaction the friendly development of the relations of our country with Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab countries. We desire that these relations should find further concretization and development. Likewise, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for friendly relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and will spare no efforts for their development and strengthening.

The Albanian people and their government have welcomed and supported the just struggle of the African peoples to eradicate colonialism and racism from the continent of Africa and have supported the efforts of the freedom-loving peoples of African countries to cope with the aggressive, neo-colonialist and predatory policy and activity of imperialism. With Tanzania, Guinea, Mali, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and other friendly countries of Africa, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations and is for further development of them.

Our country has good relations also with a number of countries of Asia. With the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, with Laos and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our relations are developing in a friendly way and we express our

desire that they should be further strengthened in the future.

In regard to Cambodia, our Party and state have condemned the bloodthirsty activities of the Pol Pot clique, a tool of the Chinese social-imperialists. We hope that the Cambodian people will surmount the difficulties they are encountering as soon as possible and decide their own fate and future in complete freedom without any «guardian».

Now it is known world-wide that, apart from formal diplomatic relations, there are no other concrete relations between our country and China. This situation has been created through no fault of ours. It is a consequence of the hostile, anti-Albanian policy and activity of the Chinese leadership.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan also creates the conditions and opens the way to the development of trade between our two countries.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has normal relations with Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Panama, and other countries of Latin America. It is ready to establish such relations also with other states of this continent which are for a friendly approach and for trade and cultural exchanges with our country.

With the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples and of peace and security in the world, our coun-

try does not maintain and will not maintain any relations. As in the past, we shall always continue our resolute struggle for the exposure of their aggressive and hegemonic policy and activity.

In the future too, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will continue to work for the development of the international relations in the positive direction. In this spirit, it will spare no efforts in the United Nations Organization and other international organizations to make its contribution to the defence of the interests and aspirations of the peoples.

The principled foreign policy followed by our Party and country expresses the aspirations of the Albanian people and enjoys their complete and boundless support and backing. In the future, too, our Party will struggle for the consistent and resolute implementation of this policy, which ensures the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of our people.

V

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM.
THE REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERATION
MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT STAGE**

In the period since the 7th Congress, our Party, standing loyal as ever to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has continued the struggle against modern revisionism uninterruptedly. The ideological and political criticism against Khrushchevite, Chinese, Yugoslav and West-European modern revisionism has been made more profound. The historical and socio-economic conditions of the birth and spread of these trends have been brought out more clearly, and the process of degeneration of those communist parties which took the course of revisionism, their mistakes and concessions in strategy and tactics, have been analysed more extensively. The connection of modern revisionism with the strategy which imperialism adopted after the Second World War for the destruction of socialism and the suppression of the

revolution and the people's liberation movement, has been proved in the light of facts from the past and the present.

These analyses and conclusions have helped the Party to recognize more clearly the dangers which threaten socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country from revisionism and to take more effective and appropriate measures to avert these dangers. They have also helped in the education of the communists and the masses; the enhancement of their theoretical level and the tempering of their revolutionary consciousness. The more profound knowledge of the strategy and tactics of imperialism and revisionism have made our struggle in defence of the cause of the proletariat and the peoples even more effective.

The correctness of the course which our Party chose right from the start to oppose revisionism and fight it to the end has been and is being proved more and more each day by the political degeneration and the profound ideological crisis of modern revisionism, by the grave economic situation and the impasse in which the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power have landed.

When our Party began the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the communist parties which made common cause with Khrushchev looked, more or less, like a united bloc, with a single line, which was that of the 20th Congress of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Today, however, 20 years later, they are split and divided into many trends and factions, are fighting and clashing with one another and have been overwhelmed by bourgeois nationalism and social-democratic opportunism. These former communist parties have been transformed either into genuine parties of the new bourgeoisie ruling in the countries where the revisionists are in power, or into component parts of the structures of the bourgeois state, as in the old capitalist countries. The crisis of modern revisionism is a direct expression of the crisis of capitalism and the bourgeois ideology in general.

The revisionist betrayal and the restoration of capitalism in a series of former socialist countries have created great confusion about the problem of socialism, which is the nub of the ideological struggle going on in the world today. The problem is that the revisionists present the capitalist society re-established in their countries as a pure socialist society, as «real socialism», and as «developed», or moreover «very highly developed» socialism. The fact that many parties and different political forces, which are far removed from scientific socialism, talk about socialism, as well as the efforts which the bourgeoisie and its propaganda make to distort the true socialist ideals and to alienate the masses from the struggle for the triumph of these ideals, add even more to this confusion.

Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudo-socialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and the working masses successfully. If it does not have a clear concept of socialist society, if it does not abide by its principles and universal laws, the revolution stops half-way. The revolution may be carried out, but when it lacks the genuine socialist perspective it can deviate, and the struggle and sacrifices made for its triumph will be in vain.

The first trend of revisionism in power, which set itself the task of undermining socialism, was Yugoslav revisionism, which emerged at a key moment of the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The roots of Yugoslav revisionism go back a long way. It did not appear for the first time in 1948, nor did it come about as a reaction against «Stalinism» or as a consequence of actions of the Information Bureau. It is a consequence of bourgeois outlooks which existed much earlier in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and were not eliminated during the National Liberation War.

The new Yugoslavia could not be built without a clear orientation and without political maturity based on the scientific theory of socialism. Only a strong communist party with sound Marxist-Leninist principles could carry out this great

work. True, a communist party existed in Yugoslavia, but it did not have all these characteristics and did not develop them during the war. On the contrary, it lost even those it had after the War, when, because of the circumstances, it was called upon to build the new Yugoslavia on the socialist road.

If you listen to the self-praise of the Titoites and the Yugoslav bourgeoisie you might believe that such a party has existed and still exists. Like the others, we Albanian communists also fell for this euphoric judgement, especially during the time of the war and in the first post-Liberation years. This judgement had its own logic, linked with the heroic fight of the peoples of Yugoslavia, which was led by the Communist Party.

After the liberation of Yugoslavia major deviations from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism appeared, in theory, in political stands, and in the construction of socialism. Likewise, in its relations with the socialist countries, especially with Albania, grave deviations and an arrogance and conceit alien to a communist party were observed in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

It was clear that this course would eventually lead to a split, as it did, not for any fault of the Information Bureau, or Stalin and «Stalinism», as the Yugoslav revisionists and their friends like to describe Marxism-Leninism. The conflict with the Information Bureau was a result of contradictions between the liberal-opportunist views of the Yugo-

slav leadership and the Marxist-Leninist views on the construction of the socialist state and socialist society. Tito and his associates gave to their opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theory the colour of opposition, first, towards Stalin, and later, towards the Soviet socialist system.

The Titoites' change of course had to be and was made. They took the course towards capitalism by adopting and commencing the building of a «new» socio-economic structure and a new form of state government appropriate to an anti-socialist course, and this was the system of «workers' self-administration». In fact this was not a new system. It was neither socialist nor a Yugoslav creation. It originated from Proudhonism, from Bakhunin and Kropotkin's anarchism, that Marx in his time, and later Lenin, and still later Stalin, had thoroughly exposed.

Sensational claims were made and unprecedented hosannas shouted about the Yugoslav turn towards capitalism, while glory was heaped upon «Barabbas». The Yugoslav deviation was trumpeted as a «new period», as a «new trail» blazed by Tito for the construction of a «humane», «specific socialism». This turn was supported and financed by imperialism and world capitalism. Pan-Yugoslav megalomania was fanned up and Yugoslavia was presented as a «champion of and example for the peoples of the world in their liberation struggle.»

In the forms and the terminology used in its structure and superstructure, the whole «self-administration system» had to be presented as «Marxist». In fact, however, it was totally opposed to Marx and the theory and practice of Leninism.

The first blow was struck at the state power of people's democracy, which was a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but which was never described as such in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav revisionists justified this by claiming that the state power of the people's councils, which had been established during the war and existed until 1948, could not be retained as such with all its prerogatives. It had to be replaced with the «workers' councils», because, according to them, the former was allegedly étatist-bureaucratic, which gives birth to «bureaucracy and the stratum of the new bourgeoisie», while the «workers' councils» were a state power closer to Marx's theory. By means of these councils, allegedly «it is the workers themselves who lead and govern directly», without the intervention of the state, which, as it must result from the logic of the Yugoslav leadership, is not theirs. Thus, the existing Yugoslav state remains merely a «guarantor» that this «new system» is not damaged; does not disintegrate and, to this end, the Federation controls only the army, the UDB, foreign policy and nothing else.

Hence, the «self-administration system» decentralized, liberalized and undermined the state of

the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state was a state of «proletarians» and became a state of «workers», it was a state «which emerged from the war, from the base», while the «new system», which the «dialectical» development allegedly required, was established from above by Tito and Kardelj.

The leading role of the party in this system had to be liquidated and in fact it was vitiated. All that was left to the party was a wishy-washy educational role, without any weight in the whole rigmarole. In appearance the party was not eliminated, but in reality it ceased to exist. It was called the «League of Communists», so as to give it the closest possible resemblance in name to that used by Marx, to remove it as far as possible in fact from the role which Marx and Lenin define for the communist party.

The Titoites present the matter as though, with its «self-administration», Yugoslavia has entered the stage of development approaching communist society. Proceeding from this, they claim that the state is beginning to wither away and the party can no longer have that role and those functions it had in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Moreover, according to them, «self-administration» has also done away with the class struggle within the party, within Yugoslavia and outside it. In reality, Tito, Kardelj and their successors

changed the direction of the class struggle. They waged and are waging it to defend their «self-administration» system against «supporters of the Information Bureau», «Stalinists», «dogmatists», etc. In fact, this is the struggle of capitalist elements against revolutionaries, of the capitalist system against the socialist system, and the bourgeois ideology against Marxism-Leninism.

The Yugoslav theoreticians indulge in gross misrepresentation in connection with the ownership of the means of production. According to them, the socialized ownership of means of production, which exists in the «self-administration» system, constitutes the highest form of socialist ownership, while state ownership constitutes its lowest form. The latter, they claim, can be defined as a kind of state capitalism which gives birth to a new bureaucratic caste, which in fact collectively possesses the right to ownership. Hence, they conclude, even in socialism state ownership does not eliminate the alienation of the worker, which is caused by capital. The capitalist relationship, profit-workers' wages, is replaced with the relationship, state accumulation-workers' wages. In other words, they claim that the worker always remains a wage-slave in both social systems.

This is a well-known Trotskyite thesis which was exposed and refuted long ago. In genuine socialist society, in which the common property is managed by the state of the dictatorship of the

proletariat, with the broad, organized and effective participation of the working class and the other working masses, according to the principle of democratic centralism, and in which great differences in the distribution of the social product, which lead to the creation of privileged strata, are not permitted, the worker is not a wage-slave and is not exploited. Proof of this is the reality of socialist Albania, where the working class is the class in power which, under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, runs the economy and the whole life of the country in its own interests and in the interests of the whole people.

Yugoslav «self-administration», which allegedly makes the worker the centre of everything, is workers' «self-administration» only in theory, in practice it is anti-worker, anti-socialist. Regardless of the clamour of the Titoites, this system does not permit the working class any right to manage or administrate.

In Yugoslavia each «self-administrative» enterprise is an independent organization in its economic activity, while the policy of administration is in the hands of its leading group, which, just as in any other capitalist country, manipulates the funds of accumulation and makes the decisions on investments, pay, prices and distribution of the product. It is claimed that all this economic-political activity is approved by the workers through their delegates. But this is a deception, a great

fraud. These so-called 'workers' delegates make common cause with the ruling caste of bureaucrats and technocrats to the detriment of the working class and the other working masses. Those who make the law and determine the policy in the «self-administrative» organization, from the lowest to the highest level in the republic, are the professional administrators. The administrative, socio-economic and political leading role of the workers, of their class, has been reduced to the minimum, if not totally eliminated.

By inciting particularism and localism, on the scale of republic, region and commune, the «self-administration» system has liquidated the unity of the working class, has set worker against worker as individuals by fostering selfishness, and as collectives by fostering competition among enterprises. On this basis, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry has been undermined, too, and the peasantry likewise divided into small private economies and exploited by the new bourgeoisie in power. All this has created autarky in the economy, anarchy in production, in the distribution of profits and investments; in the market, in prices, it has led to great inflation and unemployment.

The idea that the working class is in the leadership of the system of «workers' self-administration» in Yugoslavia is a false illusion, a utopian idea. In that system the working class is not

in command, is not the leading force. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been liquidated, the leadership of the working class, the communist party or the League of Communists, as it is called in that country, does not run either the state, the economy, the culture or social life.

In that system of general confusion some other force has seized the dominant positions of political leadership. This force is the new caste of political bureaucrats and technocrats from the stratum of the intelligentsia, which has become bourgeois, and the worker aristocracy. It is far removed from any proletarian morality, and no political control is exerted over it.

This new bureaucratic stratum advertises itself as the enemy of étatist bureaucracy, although it is an even more dangerous bureaucracy, which is flourishing and growing stronger in a decentralized economic system which protects and develops private property.

The «workers' self-administration», which is based on the ideology of anarcho-syndicalism, has given birth to republican nationalism which has gone so far as to draft its special laws and regulations to defend its own narrow interests. The economic monopoly of the republics which is comprised of the monopoly of their enterprises and trusts, has turned, in fact, into a political force and into a republican nationalism, which is manifested not only in each republic but in each region,

each commune and each enterprise. Everybody, individually and as group and a republic, strives to enrich himself further and more quickly at the expense of the others at all costs.

Bourgeois nationalism has become firmly established in Yugoslavia and the slogan «unity-fraternity», which was correct during the National Liberation War, when they were fighting against the occupiers and local reaction for a new socialist society based on Marxism-Leninism, has remained an empty slogan without any effect in the present-day Yugoslav system which splits and divides everything. The «unity-fraternity» of peoples, nations and nationalities, of republics and regions, can be realized only in a genuine socialist system which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Yugoslav federal union was not created on Marxist-Leninist foundations, hence, undoubtedly national antagonisms were bound to arise, as they did in fact. The system itself is the bearer of these contradictions and nurtures the separatism of nations and nationalities, republics and regions.

The many credits from world capitalism have also operated in this direction. The use of them to satisfy the bourgeois megalomaniacal tastes and whims of the caste in power, their unequal distribution, without sound criteria, amongst the different republics created economic and social inequalities in the republics and regions, which have further deepened the national antagonisms.

The system of «self-administration» would not have lasted long had it not been assisted by two factors: the anti-Sovietism of the Yugoslav leadership, which was nothing but its anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism through which it ensured the political support of the whole of world reaction, and the all-round economic support by means of large credits from capitalist countries. Nevertheless, these two factors could not rescue this anti-socialist system. On the contrary, they further weakened it and have driven it towards economic and political bankruptcy.

Kardelj and Tito laid the blame for the failure of this system and all the evils to which it gave birth on the «failure to perfect» this system properly, on the consciousness of working people «which was still not up to the proper level», the existence of the bureaucracy, etc. They saw the bankruptcy of their anti-socialist system, but were quite unable to turn back. Hence, all the measures which Tito took when he was alive, providing for the leadership of the Federation and the republics after his death, are palliatives. The euphoria about the «self-administration» system disappeared together with Tito and Kardelj. Tito's successors find themselves in great confusion and perplexity and do not know which way to turn to emerge from the difficulties afflicting their country. Now Titoite Yugoslavia is in the grip of a grave general crisis.

of its structures and superstructures, an economic and political-moral crisis.

Soviet revisionism has been and still is the most dangerous current of modern revisionism. More than any other variant of revisionism, it retains its socialist disguise and Leninist phraseology in order to cover up the present-day capitalist reality of the Soviet Union and its aggressive imperialist foreign policy. It is a revisionism which has seized power in a state which is a great power and has ample means and possibilities to exert its influence in the world, to operate in many directions and on a large scale.

Like the other revisionist currents, Khrushchevite revisionism also has its own process of birth and development until it reached its present form of total revisionism which distorts all the issues of the Marxist theory and socialist practice. As a social phenomenon, Khrushchevite revisionism also has its own ideological, social and historical roots and causes.

The Party of Labour of Albania has made a profound Marxist analysis of these causes. It has drawn conclusions from this analysis and taken a series of measures to bar the way to the birth of such a regressive phenomenon in our country. However, we must delve ever deeper into this problem in order to ensure that revisionism will never gain a foothold in Albania.

Right from the start, the Khrushchev group set itself as its main task to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to undermine the foundations of socialist society, to set the Soviet Union on the capitalist road and turn it into an imperialist superpower. Now we can all see this great counter-revolutionary transformation which has occurred in the Soviet Union. Only the bourgeoisie and imperialism advertise it as a communist country. By presenting the present-day capitalist Soviet Union as a socialist country, they want to discredit Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism.

Khrushchevite revisionism is the ideology and policy of state capitalism which dominates the whole life of the country. The Soviet Union's return to capitalism could not fail to have its own special features, and the capitalist order there could not fail to assume special forms. These special features and forms are determined by the fact that capitalism in that country was re-established as a result of the overthrow of socialism, as a result of a retrogressive process, unlike the capitalism of the classical type which follows the overthrow of the feudal order, as a progressive process.

The fundamental peculiarity of this type of capitalism is that here many socialist forms of property, organization and management are retained, but their content has changed radically. Today in the Soviet Union the means of production are, in fact, state capitalist, or collective capitalist

property, because they are used in the interest of the new bourgeois class which is in power, and because it is precisely this class which appropriates the labour of workers and peasants.

The former laws, traditions and practices have been replaced with new ones, which allow the state bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the party a free hand to express and apply their own will without hindrance. The new competences, which they were given on the basis of the economic reforms, were used to secure and extend the incomes and privileges of various leading castes, to preserve their power and defend them from the discontent and revolts of the working class and the working masses.

True, the state ownership remained and the factories were not distributed to private owners, the kolkhozes remained common collective economies and the banks were not handed over to shareholders, but what was changed was the distribution, the destination of the social product.

Although it is claimed that the principle of remuneration according to work is applied, in reality the different groups of the new bourgeoisie appropriate the surplus value created by the workers and peasants. All this robbery is presented as a kind of material stimulus, allegedly to encourage productive activity, scientific work, artistic creativeness, etc. In reality, this is a typical capitalist exploitation.

In order to open the way to the re-establish-

ment of capitalism, the Khrushchevite revisionists attacked the fundamental theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory about commodity production and the operation of the law of value in socialism. In theory and practice they identified socialist commodity production with capitalist production. On this basis, they reformed the whole economic mechanism. Gradually, the economic enterprises and many institutions as well, went over to a greater independence from the state plans. Great powers and rights were given to the directors of various institutions and enterprises to direct and manipulate production and distribution, to employ and dismiss people, to divide the profits, etc. The centralized state financing of the existing enterprises was restricted and the use of self-financing and credit was gradually extended.

The Soviet revisionists claim that their economy is managed and developed on the basis of plans, allegedly drafted according to the principle of democratic centralism. However, the state plan, as they conceive it in theory and apply it in practice, is not and cannot be in any way a plan of a genuine socialist economy. In the Soviet Union, bureaucratic centralism of the monopolist type co-exists with extensive economic liberalism at the base. The image is given of a planned management of the economy, whereas in practice the economic laws and categories of the capitalist mode of production have free fields of action.

Parasitic consumption has assumed unprecedented proportions. On the basis of the nominal pay, the difference in remuneration between workers and the bureaucratic and technocratic administrators of production reaches a ratio of more than one to ten, while together with the incomes from the division of profits, from all kinds of bonuses, and from countless other privileges, the difference in pay reaches even greater figures. These differences in pay and way of life can hardly be distinguished from those which exist between the bourgeois administrators and the workers in the countries of the West.

In the conditions when 35-40 per cent of the pay for the value of labour power is formed in a decentralized way from the division of profits, when the work norms are not unified and are likewise applied in a decentralized way, when the material stimulus in favour of the new bourgeoisie has absolute priority, and when inflation, caused especially by the militarization of the economy which gobbles up one third of the national income, is constantly rising, in essence, the society has lost real control over the amount of labour and consumption, which are two main keys for a socialist economy.

These and a series of other measures of a capitalist character, which were trumpeted as a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist economic theory and practice, had as their aim and

led to the demolition of the foundations of the socialist economy.

The consequences of this course are apparent in the daily life of the Soviet people. On the market there are shortages of prime necessities; inflation, unemployment and the fluctuation of labour power have increased, declared and undeclared increases in prices of various goods can be seen. The private sector of the economy has extended, the doors have been flung open to foreign monopoly capital, and the black market, speculation, embezzlements, bribery and fraud are rife.

The present-day Soviet reality shows that the process is not moving towards the «elimination of class distinctions» and the «creation of a new social unity», as the Khrushchevite-Brezhnevite revisionists propagate, but towards profound social differentiation between the new bourgeois class, comprised of the stratum of bureaucrats and technocrats, and the broad working masses, who are in the position of a simple producing force. The greater the degree of exploitation of the working people and the more the profits of the bourgeoisie increase, the deeper the gulf between them is growing. This situation has given rise to a whole ideology and policy which justifies and defends this new system of capitalist exploitation.

The Soviet power is no longer of Soviets, of the workers and peasants. It is isolated from them and has become like a force in itself and alien to

them. The Khrushchevite revisionists have formally proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat liquidated. They have named the state the state of the entire people, in order to hide the reality that it is no longer of the people, but a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. Its capitalist character is clearly apparent from the whole internal and foreign policy which it pursues, a policy which serves the interests of the bourgeois class in power. The Soviet state, which has the main means of production in its hands and runs the whole economy, has been transformed into a representative and defender of the interests of the ruling class.

In order to preserve their socialist disguise and «to prove» that the Soviet Union is a socialist country, the Soviet revisionists say that there is only one party there, that this party is a communist party, and its leading role has been sanctioned in the Constitution. The fact that there is only one leading party and that its undivided power is recognized by law does not make it a communist party. There are many bourgeois countries where there is only a single ruling party. The position of a political party in the state does not determine its character. The character of a party is determined, first of all, by to which class it belongs and whom it serves, by what ideology it is guided, and what policy it pursues.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union to-

day is the direct representative of the bourgeois class in power, exercises power on its behalf, and serves the development and strengthening of the restored capitalist order. It is communist only in name. The maintenance of the name communist and its use of certain Marxist phrases and socialist slogans have a hypocritical and simply demagogic character. This is part of that deceptive propaganda which wants to keep the masses in the dark and make them believe that they are living in socialism and not in a capitalist society of oppression and exploitation. From tradition, for purposes of disguise, or simply out of inertia, many parties retain such names as «democratic», «popular», «socialist», etc., at a time when they are typically bourgeois reactionary parties.

The revisionist-capitalist policy, which is applied in the Soviet Union, has revived the old demons of the czarist empire, such as national oppression, anti-semitism, Slav racism, Orthodox religious mysticism, the cult of military castes, the aristocratism of the intelligentsia, bureaucracy in the old Russian style, etc. The theories of the Soviet revisionists about the alleged creation of a «historic new community», of the «unified Soviet people», have been invented precisely to conceal the reality that the Soviet Union is rent with profound social, class and national contradictions.

It is the strength of the Soviet army which dominates in the Soviet Union today. The stepped-

up rate of militarization of the life of the country and the heavy burden of military expenditure, which has reached astronomical proportions and is shaking the Soviet economy more and more profoundly, distort its development and impoverish the people.

The re-establishment of capitalism in the country could not fail to lead, also, to a drastic turn-about in the sphere of international relations and the foreign policy of the communist party and the Soviet state. Khrushchevite revisionism was gradually transformed into the ideology and policy of the new imperialist superpower, which justifies and defends its expansion, aggression and wars for the establishment of world domination. Offspring of this ideology and policy are the notorious theories of «limited sovereignty», the «international division of labour» and the «economic-political and military integration» of the countries of the so-called socialist community, which have bound these countries hand and foot and transformed them into vassal states. At the 26th Congress of the CPSU Brezhnev called these relations «relations between peoples» in order to wipe out any national and state identity in this way.

In order to attain its expansionist, neo-colonialist objectives, Soviet social-imperialism has created a theory according to which no country can liberate and defend itself from imperialism and develop in an independent way without Soviet aid

and tutelage. It misuses the slogan of «internationalist aid» in order to undertake aggressions and to plunder the wealth of other countries.

The whole aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist foreign policy of the social-imperialist Soviet Union is further proof and evidence that the Soviet order is a capitalist order, because only a capitalist order can pursue such a policy in the international arena. As Lenin said, foreign policy is a continuation of the internal policy, and the two together are a concentrated expression of the economic relations which exist in a country. The socialist and communist disguise, which the Soviet revisionists still try to retain, is being torn from them day by day in the face of their capitalist reality and the social-imperialist policy which they pursue.

As to how long this great deception of the Soviet people, that they are allegedly living in socialism, can be kept up, how long the Soviet working class will continue to live with illusions, — this depends on many factors, internal and external. As to what awaits the countries in which Khrushchevite revisionism is ruling, the events in Poland are very significant. The fact is that there the class conflict between the working people and the bourgeois class in power, represented by the revisionist party, has burst out. Irrespective of how it has been manipulated by the forces of the Right, in essence, the revolt of the Polish working

class shows that it has become conscious of its position as an oppressed and exploited class, that the existing state power in Poland belongs to a class antagonistic to it and that socialism has been betrayed. Which will be the next after Poland? The processes of class differentiation are seething, and class conflicts are building up rapidly in all the revisionist countries. The Soviet Union makes no exception in this direction, although outwardly it looks as the most stable among them. The wounds which the restoration of capitalism has opened can be healed only with the overthrow of revisionism and the re-establishment of socialism.

Our Party has waged a great, open, principled struggle against Chinese revisionism, the ideology, policy, stands and actions of the Communist Party of China. Chinese revisionism is an opportunist current in the world communist movement and its foundation — Mao Zedong thought, is an ideology with archaic features, an amalgam of ancient Chinese theories of Confucius and Mencius and new paraphrased theories, without any organic structural connection, painted up with a Marxist phraseology. Mao Zedong thought represents a hegemonic ideology of world domination, based on a heterogeneous collection of contradictory and pragmatic theorems and ideas. When China began the construction of the new Chinese state, which emerged from the liberation war, the Chinese ship wallowed confusedly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the

left, in the waters of this ideology. This was the source of those vacillations of China and that lack of definition of the character of its political and economic system.

The theory which guided the new China was not Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist slogans in Chinese characters painted on the façade gave the false impression that some features of scientific socialism existed. They prevented the continual deviations from being clearly discerned.

While the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat was being stressed in China, the dictatorship of rival groups and personalities was concealed and developed under it. While the leading role of the party was stressed, this concealed a chaotic organization and the non-existent leadership of the party. While there was talk about the hegemony of the working class, the leading role, in fact, was left to the peasantry, because it was its petty-bourgeois ideology which predominated in China. While there was talk about the alteration of class structures, in essence, nothing changed from what it was.

The Chinese economy went on limping badly, lacking any clear directive or perspective, irrespective of the existence of the so-called plan which did not have the remotest resemblance to a scientific plan, let alone a plan based on a centralized system. Indeed, it did not have even the features

of a decentralized plan. The Chinese economy carried on by its own momentum.

In this flabby organization and in this ideology with no backbone, the predominant idea was that of the hegemony of the great Chinese state which «had been called upon by history» to represent the new model of socialist society, to represent the «Marxism-Leninism of the new era», which was Mao Zedong thought.

In this development of China we had to discern that under the cloak of «revolution» lurked counter-revolution, that under the cloak of Mao Zedong thought lurked anti-Marxism, a trend of modern revisionism which was seeking political, ideological, organizational and state forms and structures appropriate for the «Chinese continent» and for its capitalist-imperialist aspirations.

The «anti-imperialism», «anti-Sovietism», and «anti-Americanism», which were alternately stressed in Mao Zedong's China, were temporary manoeuvres. They were not ideological convictions, were not principled stands, but were manoeuvres to balance the powerful states of the world, a game on the world chess-board with the imperialist political-military powers for the strengthening of China.

It was with these world outlooks, with these eclectic, opportunist stands, both on the internal plane of China and on the external plane, that the «Proletarian Cultural Revolution» of the Red

Guards was carried out and that the revanchist «revolution» of reactionary old men and all the remnants of the old China is taking place today. These were the foundations on which the ill-fated theory of «three worlds» and of «alliances of these three worlds» was worked out and the big switches were made in Chinese international policy with very dangerous consequences for world peace.

It took our Party a fairly long time to discern this anti-Marxist course of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, with which we had good friendly relations. For our Party the theoretical-political essence of this friendship was very important, the question of the struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the question of socialism and the revolution were important.

At first we waged a principled struggle through debates, as between comrades, but gradually it became embittered because of the anti-Marxist attitude of China. On the part of the Party of Labour of Albania, this was a struggle with no concessions, but also an unequal and difficult struggle. Had not this struggle been waged the construction of socialism in Albania would have been endangered.

The importance of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania lies in the fact that it destroyed two myths: that of China as a country in which socialism was being built, and that of Mao

Zedong thought as the Marxism-Leninism of our time. In this struggle to defend principles our Party took account of all the economic difficulties which might be created for the country.

Mao Zedong thought, publicized as the «further scientific development of Marxism-Leninism», might have had an influence, as it did in fact, on the international communist movement and on certain Marxist-Leninist parties in particular. Because of many circumstances, these parties, being quite unable to make a profound analysis of this revisionist ideological trend, thought that in great China and in Mao Zedong they had the leaders of the proletarian revolution, resolute supporters in the struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, natural defenders of the just national liberation wars of the peoples.

Hence, a principled and determined struggle had to be waged in order to undeceive the deceived. The Party of Labour of Albania undertook this struggle. This is an experience we have lived through and proved, both in the time when Mao Zedong himself was alive and after his death. Socialist Albania did not become isolated in the world on account of this struggle, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim. The opposite occurred. The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania made their internal and international positions even stronger.

In this struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism

and the revolution and to oppose the pseudo-Marxist ideology of Mao Zedong thought, other sister Marxist-Leninist parties, too, fought with wisdom and revolutionary determination and made a valuable contribution.

The exposure of China as a non-socialist country and of Mao Zedong thought as an anti-Marxist theory wiped out a dangerous illusion in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, just as had occurred with Soviet and Yugoslav revisionism and the other reactionary revisionist currents.

Any disguise, any falsification, any deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism cannot be kept up for long. Sooner or later it is exposed, because it runs counter to the ideals of the working class and the peoples who fight for freedom, for genuine democracy, for socialism, for a society without exploiters and exploited.

The present developments in China, the whole home and foreign policy of the Chinese leadership, prove that the analyses and conclusions of the Party of Labour of Albania were absolutely accurate and correct. The Chinese leadership left the field free for the development of the capitalist economy, opened the doors to the inflow of enslaving foreign capital, united in close alliance with American imperialism and the blackest international reaction. China came out openly as an aggressive imperialist power with pretensions

to world hegemony. It has become one of the main centres of world counter-revolution, which fights with all means to hinder the liberation of peoples and strangle the revolution. Today Chinese revisionism has emerged openly as a reactionary current, has broken off any connection, not only with the revolutionary and liberation movements, but also with any democratic and progressive movement. In every case it takes the side of the most sinister, most obscurantist and fascist forces in the world.

The disorder, corruption, confusion and clashes, which have occurred and are occurring in China, are direct consequences of Mao Zedong thought. The criticism which the Chinese leaders today make of Mao Zedong has nothing at all in common with the Marxist criticism which we make. It has no connection with the content of his ideas which the present Chinese leaders retain and apply in practice. Their criticism is an expression of the struggle for power between different rival Maoist groups. These groups cannot reject Mao Zedong, because all of them find support and justification for their actions in his ideas. Without freeing themselves from Mao Zedong thought the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people will be unable to find the right road which leads to socialism.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will continue its consistent principled struggle for the complete exposure of Chinese revisionism,

for the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and the anti-Marxist ideas of Mao Zedong. Without denouncing and rejecting Mao Zedong thought, without combating and eradicating any influence of it in the revolutionary movement, there can be no serious talk about the struggle against Chinese revisionism or against modern revisionism as a whole, the Marxist-Leninist movement cannot be properly consolidated and developed and the cause of the revolution carried forward successfully.

The more the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism deepen, and the closer the wave of the revolution approaches, the more the other revisionist current — Eurocommunism, reveals its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary features.

Eurocommunism is a product of the degeneration of the communist parties which took the course of revisionism, and of the split which occurred in the revisionist camp as a result of the predominance which bourgeois nationalism assumed within this camp.

It is the ideology of the worker aristocracy, fed with crumbs from the profits of the bourgeoisie. Eurocommunism, which is the purest ideology of bourgeois reformism, plays the role of the «fifth column» in the ranks of the workers' movement.

The Eurocommunists, who were the most ar-

dent supporters of the campaign against Stalin, allegedly to return to Lenin, have now united openly with the whole chorus of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats to attack Lenin and Leninism. The very term «Eurocommunism» is an expression of their departure from Marxism-Leninism, of their denial of the universal laws of the revolution and the construction of socialist society. The Eurocommunists have exhumed from the grave and put into circulation again the old opportunist theories of Lassalle and Bernstein, Kautsky and the 2nd International, which they publicize as the last word in the creative development of Marxism in our days. The open attack from anti-communist positions all along the line against the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism is the logical end of all modern revisionism and all its trends.

The Eurocommunists' preachings about the supraclass capitalist state, about democracy for all, about the peaceful, parliamentary democratic road to socialism, about structural reforms within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, etc., have only one aim: to sabotage the revolution and defend and perpetuate the capitalist order. When the Italian, French or Spanish revisionists talk about the «historic compromise», the «historic bloc of the left», etc., or when they struggle to get into the bourgeois governments, they do this not in order to wrest power from the bourgeoisie, not to liquidate the capitalist order, but to protect it from

the revolution and to take over the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie themselves. They want to replace social-democracy, which is now compromised and discredited in the eyes of the masses as an open servant of the bourgeoisie, in this role.

While they prettify capitalism, the Eurocommunists express open hostility to socialism. According to them, no true socialism exists or ever has existed up till now. For them the «true socialism» is that which they themselves have invented, the so-called «democratic socialism», «pluralist socialism», or the «third road».

The «socialism» envisaged by the Eurocommunists is a socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the undivided leadership of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory. In this socialism, state power will belong to all classes, the different parties will come to leadership according to the votes they receive in elections, and the Marxist ideology will coexist with all the other ideologies, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and religious. Different forms of the economy, the socialized property and private enterprise, imperialist capital and the multi-national companies, will exist in the socialism of the Eurocommunists.

Hence, in this so-called pluralist society, classes, parties, ideologies, different forms of property, socialist and capitalist elements, will combine and coexist in complete peace and harmony in the

economy and policy, in the base and superstructure and the whole life of society. However, such a mongrel capitalist-socialist society has never existed and never can exist. It can exist only in the imagination of the Eurocommunists. Socialism and capitalism are two mutually exclusive social orders. The new society advocated by the Eurocommunists is nothing but the present-day capitalist society painted in socialist colours.

The emergence of Eurocommunism was publicised loudly by the bourgeoisie which hoped that its reformist ideology would overshadow the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. It hoped that Eurocommunism would extend widely and become a banner to unite all the revisionists of the West and the East. But its hopes were completely dashed. In the Eurocommunist parties themselves the factions and splits increased; while between the different Eurocommunist parties the struggle for leadership began. The squabbles and divisions with the other revisionist parties became even greater. Marchais' party abandoned the Eurocommunist camp and is moving closer and closer to the Soviet revisionists. The Communist Party of Spain has split up into different factions, into orthodox and heretic Eurocommunists, into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet groups. Meanwhile Berlinguer's party is experiencing a grave ideological and political crisis. The most important thing is that the Eurocommunist parties have lost much of the influence

they had among the masses, and this can be seen in the defeats which they are suffering continually in the election campaigns, which they consider their main battlefield.

The ideas of genuine socialism have been and remain a great force to inspire, mobilize and organize the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Today there is no need to invent new «socialisms» or to copy the so-called socialisms of the modern revisionists, such as the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and other models, which are socialisms only in name.

There is nothing unknown about what socialism is, what it represents and what it brings about, how it is achieved and how socialist society is built. A theory and practice of scientific socialism exists. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us this theory. We find the practice of it in that rich experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin, and we find it today in Albania, where the new society is being built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, as Lenin said, socialism will look different and will have its own special features in different countries as a result of the differing socio-economic conditions, the way in which the revolution is carried out, the traditions, the international circumstances, etc. But the basic principles

and the universal laws of socialism remain unshakable and are essential for all countries.

The Marxist-Leninists carefully study the revolutionary processes in their own countries, as well as the national and international conditions in which they take place. They are not dogmatic either in theory or in practice. For them, Marxism-Leninism, as a dialectical materialist world outlook, is a living, creative doctrine in ceaseless development.

The Marxist-Leninists are not conservative and fanatical, as the revisionists and the bourgeois charge. On the contrary, they are the most progressive people, resolute fighters against everything outdated and backward. They stand firmly on the positions of the new and fight with all their might for its victory. The revisionists and all the other opportunists who, as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, defend a lost cause, defend an obsolete order of oppression and exploitation, are conservative and reactionary. It is precisely this reactionary position which has plunged modern revisionism into a profound crisis.

The liberation of the consciousness of the proletariat and the peoples from the inhibiting influence of revisionism, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism which points out the only correct course for the struggle and victory, is a primary task today in order to carry forward the revolutionary process in each country and on a world scale.

With the upsurge of the revolt and movements

of the masses, with the awakening of the national and class consciousness of the peoples and from the fact that the world is facing great socio-economic upheavals, this task becomes even more urgent.

All the enemies are striving to alienate the masses from the revolution. The bourgeoisie, social-democracy, the modern revisionists and the opportunists of every hue are doing everything in their power to deceive the working class and the masses, to implant ideological confusion and disruption, to spread pessimism and fatalism, to arouse distrust in the revolution and socialism among the people, and to build up the psychosis that it is impossible to smash and defeat capitalism and imperialism. For these enemies, the only problem is to give capitalism «a more human face», which means that the big capitalists should continue to rule, but should throw a few crumbs to the poor. The bourgeois ideologists, the apologists of Soviet imperialism, the advocates of the theory of «three worlds», of «non-alignment» and the North-South dialogue, the Pope of Rome and the trade-union bosses are all united in this joint chorus.

Great pressure is being exerted on the European working class. Because of the domination of reformism, the workers' movement in Europe still has not developed into a genuine revolutionary movement. It has not gained full awareness that in order to change its situation the capitalist sys-

tem must be replaced and socialist society established.

However, the European proletariat will not go on for ever obeying the trade-union bosses and social-democratic and revisionist parties, who prattle that a better future for the working masses will be ensured through the development of the existing bourgeois structures, the parliamentary road, through reforms, or through «United Europe». The oppression, violence, savage exploitation, unemployment, drugs, degeneration and inflation, which have swept the countries of Europe, will not be able to restrain the sound forces of the European peoples from revolting against the rule of capital. «United Europe» is nothing but an ephemeral solution, a reactionary capitalist policy which, sooner or later, will find itself facing countless difficulties of various natures. Hence, the moment will come when the revolt of the working class of Europe will reach the point that it imperatively demands a revolutionary solution.

In these conditions, it is of first-rate importance that the communists and non-communists, progressives and all the masses of the people should clearly understand that their real enemy is capitalism, that it must and can be overthrown through revolutionary struggle. In this way, pessimism will be eliminated, and their courage and confidence in victory will be increased. The science of Marx and Lenin builds up this confidence of

the proletariat and the masses and makes it invincible.

The party and the proletariat, that are preparing for the revolution and the seizure of power, try to analyse and thoroughly master the situations, to scientifically determine the character and stages of the revolution in every concrete instance, and, on this basis, to work out the appropriate strategy and tactics. They study with the greatest care the various people's revolutionary currents which clash with capitalism and its parties, assess their directions, the ratio of forces in the concrete situation, and on this basis, decide and put into practice all those skilful tactics which must be used to lead the popular masses on the correct victorious course, to channel thousands of streams into the great torrent of the revolution, in which the capitalist bourgeoisie will be drowned.

The Party and the proletariat do not go into revolution alone. In bourgeois society there are other oppressed strata which hate the capitalist order, there are progressive forces among the peasantry and youth, and there are other democratic and freedom-loving elements who cannot tolerate exploitation. The communists make approaches to all these forces and elements, build joint alliances with them on various issues and for definite objectives. Marxist-Leninists are neither sectarian nor liberal. They are revolutionaries, unwavering in principle, but flexible in tactics. The fronts which

the Marxist-Leninist parties construct with other progressive forces in the capitalist countries against the bourgeoisie, against fascism and imperialism, are a component part of the strategy of the revolution. In any alliance or front the party safeguards its own individuality, even when, for objective reasons, it does not lead the front itself.

The unity of the proletariat has been and still is the key problem in the capitalist countries. The bourgeoisie tries to clasp the proletariat in an iron grip, to prevent it from proceeding on the course which history has allocated it for the overthrow of exploiters and the destruction of the power of capital. The trade-unions, which in most instances are subservient to the bourgeoisie, are one of the means of exerting this iron grip. The communists work to penetrate into and establish firm roots among the working class, and at the same time, struggle to bring about its unity. Today, when the crisis has resulted in tens of millions of workers being thrown out in the street and millions of others rising in strikes and demonstrations for economic and political claims, it is easier to unite and organize the workers in the struggle against capital.

The unity of the working class is achieved in struggle and in concrete revolutionary actions to fulfil the economic and political demands of the proletariat. To this end, the Marxist-Leninists work to ensure that the existing trade-unions break free

from the domination of agents of the bourgeoisie, revisionists and social-democrats, and to turn them into instruments of struggle against the exploiting order. Along with this, depending on the conditions and needs, they also create new revolutionary trade-unions.

The youth also are a mighty force who aspire and fight to change the unjust capitalist society, who want what is new and progressive. Only Marxism-Leninism and the revolution open this road to the youth, they alone save the masses of the youth from the political and social degeneration into which the bourgeoisie leads them, open to them the prospect of a new, undefiled and happy life, in which all their inexhaustible energies can burst out and be fully developed in the service of society and progress. The movement of the youth gains strength and can achieve its objectives when it merges with the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The present revolutionary process has made the problem of the stand towards the bourgeois army even more acute, not in order to consider it as the force which will carry out the revolution, but in order to disrupt and disintegrate it, so that it is not capable of opposing the revolution. The communists work to ensure that the masses of soldiers, who are sons of the people, do not obey the officer caste when the revolution breaks out, but will turn their weapons against the reac-

tionary forces in power and unite with the insurgents, as occurred in Iran.

The revolution is the main task of the working class. But it is prepared in struggle for the solution of the political, economic, social and cultural problems which concern the working masses every day. It is these actions, these daily battles, which enhance the consciousness of the class, which strengthen its organization and unity, which train it and lead it to revolution. By means of these battles, the party links itself with the masses and places itself at the head of them. Genuine parties of the working class are parties of revolutionary action.

In order to intimidate the masses and pave the way for the advent of fascism, big capital is inciting terrorism, which has assumed broad proportions in many countries. By means of terrorism, the bourgeoisie also tries to smear the genuine revolutionary movement and to set various elements, who revolt against the oppression of the bourgeoisie, on a wrong course. The bourgeoisie deliberately identifies the revolutionary struggle with terrorism in order to create the impression among the masses that the communists, patriots and revolutionaries, who fight against national and social oppression, are terrorists and anarchists who murder and rob. Genuine revolutionaries are against terrorism and anarchism, both in theory and in practice.

The working class and the working masses in

the capitalist countries are more and more running up against the national problem, which has become very acute in the present time. Social-democracy and the revisionists deny the existence of such a problem in the developed capitalist countries, such as those of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, etc. They do not want to recognize the fact that, as a result of the attack of the multi-national companies behind which stands American imperialism, the extension of supra-national competences of military blocs and international economic organizations, the extension of American bases and the stationing of American weapons on their territories are more and more restricting the national sovereignty, restricting the independent political action of their countries, and turning them gradually into vassal states.

The working class must take up the defence of the sovereignty and national independence which the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic and revisionist wing have abandoned. The proletariat of Europe and other countries must not be deceived by the propaganda of the United States, the Soviet Union or China, each of which, for its own interests, makes a bogey of the threat to freedom and national independence from the rival superpower. By means of this propaganda they want to rob them of their freedom and independence and to establish the imperialist domination of this or that superpower.

The class and national moments also constitute a major problem in the countries where the revisionists rule. In particular, social liberation in these countries cannot be achieved without opposing and throwing off the yoke of Soviet social-imperialism, which has established its complete economic, political and military domination there.

American imperialism and other Western capitalist powers pose as supporters of the workers' and national movements in these countries, as though they support the liberation aspirations of the peoples there. This is demagogy and a dangerous game intended to deceive the proletarians and the working masses. The imperialist bourgeoisie wants only to separate these countries from the sphere of influence of Soviet social-imperialism and to put them in its own sphere of domination.

The cause of the proletarian revolution is inseparable from the development of the peoples' liberation movement. An important feature of present-day national liberation struggles is that the political awakening to win and defend complete national freedom and independence is accompanied with a social awakening. The present movements of the oppressed peoples are increasingly aimed not only against foreign imperialism, but also against its agencies within the country. The fact is that, regardless of their socio-economic backwardness, the peoples of the oppressed countries are displaying great vitality and making an important contribu-

tion to the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, which opens the way to the proletarian revolution.

The people's uprisings of «Islamic inspiration», as the bourgeoisie and revisionists like to describe these movements with the aim of denying their anti-imperialist and revolutionary character, deserve special attention. It is a fact that there are insurgent movements in the Moslem countries, but the interpretations which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists make of them are ill-intentioned and denigrating. They conceal enslaving aims towards the peoples.

We Marxist-Leninists have said and still say that religion is opium for the peoples. In no instance do we alter our view in connection with this question. In its content, the Moslem religion, too, is no different from the others.

The broad masses of the Moslem peoples in the different countries have risen and are rising in struggle, not over the question of religion, but for national and social liberation. Belief in religion is relative and does not predominate over politics. The peoples of these countries believe in and respect Islam, but when the vital interests of the people, the freedom and independence of the country are violated, they rise in struggle against the aggressor, even if he is of the same religion. It is not the religious inspiration which causes the revolts and the revolutionary awakening of peoples, but the social and political conditions, the imperialist

oppression and plunder and the poverty and suffering imposed on them.

The Arabs and other Moslem peoples are valiant fighters and boast an ancient culture. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-feudal uprisings and wars of these peoples show that they are progressive and love freedom. If this were not so, they could not rise in struggle for freedom and national independence against their double oppression, both internal and external.

In the regions inhabited by the Moslem peoples the imperialists and social-imperialists are in difficulties. Their puppets also are in difficulties. The state of affairs in these regions speaks of a revolutionary situation, of a great social movement of these peoples, regardless of the fact that, at first sight, they have a religious character, or whether the people taking part in them are believers or non-believers.

Revolutionary situations exist or are being created in many countries today, but the socialist revolution does not present itself as an immediate task everywhere. Other movements of a democratic, anti-imperialist, liberation character are developing in the world. All these are component parts of the world revolutionary process, are just struggles which weaken the imperialist front and contribute to the acceleration of the revolutionary processes, strike blows at the capitalist system and lead to its further decay. Therefore, as Lenin

teaches us, the working class, as the most progressive class, and its communist party must actively support and assist these struggles and place themselves in the leadership of them. And if initially they have not affirmed their leading positions, still they must stand in the forefront of the fight and sacrifices, because only in this way can they come to the head of the movement and achieve its objectives, only in this way can the road be opened for the development of the anti-imperialist, people's democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

In their struggle for national and social liberation the working class and the working masses clash everyday with the savage violence of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the forces of reaction. In these conditions, they are obliged to respond to the reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, the forms of which are and cannot but be different, according to the conditions of each country and the situations in which they occur. In some countries this violence has assumed or may assume the form of the armed insurrection. The Marxist-Leninists take an extremely serious stand on this question. They combat both nihilist stands and petty-bourgeois adventurism, expose and reject both the Maoist preachings about the «encirclement of the city by the countryside», etc., and the pseudo-Marxist theories which deny the decisive role of the popular masses in the struggle and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

For our Marxist-Leninist parties the times are revolutionary. The new Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and tempering themselves all over the world. Their role and activity, their links and influence among the working class and masses are increasing. New parties have been created in many different countries and zones. All the conditions exist for them to be created even where there are no genuine revolutionary parties of the working class. This is an imperative fighting task of the most conscious, revolutionary elements of the proletariat.

The favourable objective situation in no way obscures the acute problems and major tasks which face the Marxist-Leninists. True, our forces are mounting continuously and the situation is developing in favour of the revolution, but reaction is active, too. Despite their profound and irreconcilable contradictions, the bourgeoisie, social-democracy and the various revisionists are united on one thing — they operate jointly in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. They try to implant distrust and fear amongst the masses of the people in order to alienate them from the revolution and socialism, to attack and damage the Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries and the revolutionary communist movement as a whole.

Earlier, when Mao Zedong thought was exerting its influence in many parties, the imperialists and social-imperialists were more at ease, because they

knew that this revisionist current was doing its work of undermining the Marxist-Leninist movement. Now that this current has been exposed, the enemies are trying to sow confusion by spreading all kinds of pseudo-Marxist theories, to split and weaken the parties through factional struggle, to manipulate weak and ill-formed elements in various ways and impel them to revisionist positions.

Today, however, the Marxist-Leninist parties have great experience in the struggle with different anti-Marxist currents and are better armed against the tactics which the bourgeoisie and revisionists employ. This experience helps them to wage the struggle against enemies with success, to increase their vigilance, to continuously raise the ideological and political level of the party members and arm them with the Marxist-Leninist theory. The revolutionary struggle has taught the Marxist-Leninist parties to strengthen their links with the masses, to go amongst the different social strata and organize them, to utilize legal and illegal work, combining them correctly in struggle against manifestations of legalism and bourgeois liberalism, as well as of narrow sectarianism and work in isolation.

In the face of the co-ordinated activity of the imperialists and revisionists against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, the further strengthening

of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement is an imperative need.

The strength of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement lies in the correctness of the ideas for which it fights and in its unity. In their struggle the Marxist-Leninist parties are guided by the teachings of our great classics, use the rich and all-sided heritage from the Comintern, rely on the experience of their own struggle against the revisionist betrayal and bear in mind the negative experience of the parties which degenerated into revisionism. All these lessons and this experience constitute a very great ideological, political, organizational, theoretical and practical wealth for tempering and strengthening the parties and the Marxist-Leninist movement in every direction.

The meetings and discussions between sister parties make a valuable contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. In this way they benefit from one another's experience, arrive at common assessments of situations and unity of thought and action. The experience of one party cannot replace the experience of many parties. On the contrary, it is the experience of all the Marxist-Leninist parties which makes the movement invincible.

Standing loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always tried and will continue to try to make its own contribution to strengthening the unity of

the Marxist-Leninist movement and the collaboration between the sister parties.

It is an honour for our Party of Labour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, which are equal detachments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, in the great historic struggle for the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. The Albanian communists and our whole people prize very highly the solidarity, the love and trust which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples display for the Party of Labour and socialist Albania. This is a powerful support and encouragement for us. In all circumstances and in any situation our Party and people will fight to perform their national and international tasks with honour, to build socialism successfully in Albania, and to ardently defend the revolutionary cause of the proletarians and the peoples.

Dear Comrades.

The successes which our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party are great and the battles won are majestic. They show that our people have inexhaustible strength, that they are

optimistic and determined to undertake new battles to make their lives happier, to raise the name of their socialist Homeland even higher, to strengthen their freedom and independence and the people's power which was born in the flames of the revolution.

It is this marvellous reality, the unbreakable unity of the people with the Party, the maturity, courage and determination of the communists, which give the people and the Party this sure guarantee that the tasks, which this Congress will set, will be fulfilled and overfulfilled.

The enthusiasm which the Draft-directives of the 7th Five-year Plan have aroused, the mobilization of the working masses to carry out the tasks of this year, and the encouraging results which have been achieved, and above all, the unanimous, resolute and ardent support which our people give the internal and external policy of the Party, show that the whole country is ready and mobilized to go forward confidently and resolutely on the course on which the Party leads them to achieve new victories.

Dear Comrades, let us turn this revolutionary drive, this boundless love for our glorious Party, this unshakeable confidence in the future, into a great motive force to carry out the tasks in all fields, to overcome all the difficulties which we shall encounter and to further strengthen and con-

solidate our victories and the unassailable foundations of socialism in Albania.

Long live the 8th Congress of the Party!

Long live the heroic, talented and industrious Albanian people!

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania, the wise, valiant and proven leader, the organizer of all our victories on the brilliant road of socialist construction!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

...the development of the national economy and the strengthening of the economic foundations of the socialist system.

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CONTENT

	Page
INTRODUCTION	3
I	
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY	11-65
1. - THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF INDUSTRY - A DECISIVE FACTOR FOR THE GENERAL ADVANCE OF THE COUNTRY	18
2. - AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION MUST BE FURTHER INTENSIFIED AND THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE PERFECTED	28
3. - INVESTMENTS AND CONSTRUCTION WORK - AN IMPORTANT BASIS FOR THE CEASELESS STRENGTHENING OF THE ECONOMY	42
4. - EXPORT MUST BE INCREASED AND HARD CURRENCY USED SPARINGLY	47
5. - THE LEVEL OF WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE MUST BE GUARANTEED AND GRADUALLY RAISED	51

	Page
6. - WE MUST PERFECT THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND RAISE ITS EFFICIENCY	59

II

WE MUST CEASELESSLY STRENGTHEN THE PARTY AND FURTHER ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS WORK	66-110
--	--------

1. - WE MUST FURTHER ENHANCE AND PERFECT THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY	68
2. - THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WORK OF THE PARTY AND THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PARTY ORGANS AND ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE INCREASED	75
3. - THE ESTABLISHED CRITERIA FOR INCREASING THE RANKS OF THE PARTY MUST BE APPLIED CORRECTLY	84
4. - IMPROVE THE WORK OF THE PARTY WITH THE CADRES	87
5. - FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT	93

III

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE	111-160
--	---------

1. - THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE - THE BASIS OF OUR SUCCESSES	112
2. - SOCIALISM NEEDS PEOPLE WITH BROAD CULTURE AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE	138

IV

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA	161-223
--	---------

V

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM. THE REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERATION MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT STAGE	224-277
--	---------